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THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE HISTORIAN OF TODAY*

What historian is there that does not possess a perspective? Such a possession is for him his very license to be an historian. Without it he may chart the earth and the skies, but he cannot write history. It is true that just as a man standing before a vast panorama may be so fascinated by a cottage roof in the foreground that he never lifts his eyes to the horizon, so an historian may fix his gaze on something so near him that he appears to have no perspective at all. And yet is there not always some moment when he lifts his eyes and taking in the vast sweep of the whole past is by its grandeur and pattern transfixed, and penetrated, and inspired, so that from then on no matter what he writes, all that he writes is different and unique for that very perspective which he has experienced?

Fortunately this does not mean that all historians have to become world-historians, but it does mean that all historians do give an indication of what sort of world-historians they might be. We have all read historians who though they were talking of such a limited story as the evolution of Ellis Island, made it quite clear on their first page whether they thought the world began in 1789, or with Adam and Eve. If there is one thing that an historian cannot hide, it is his perspective. In dealing with criminals it has become the habit of the police to take an impression of the fingerprints of those whom they arrest, for there is a mathematical index

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contained in each finger-print by which every man who has given his fingers' impress may be thereafter identified. With historians —and I am quite aware that it is a little unceremonious to associate them thus with criminals—it might be possible to identify each one of them by taking the measure of his perspective.

But if the perspective of historians is so important, what is it that makes the difference between the perspective of one historian and that of another? How comes it that the historians of one generation see but a few generations back and those of the next a few thousand? Is it that each historian sees in turn farther back than his predecessor? Manifestly no. Is it that the perspective varies with the extension or contraction of our positive knowledge concerning the past? Somewhat, no doubt. Is it that it depends on the number of years which an historian computes to be those of human history? In that case Sir Arthur Keith who estimates that man's age roughly speaking—I am glad he calls it roughly speaking—is one million one hundred and twenty-five thousand years would have outdistanced all competitors.[1]

Truly it is a man's philosophy most of all that determines his perspective. Sir Arthur Keith has no grand perspective. Rather it can be said that he has none whatsoever. The Neanderthal man of whom he speaks as living several hundred thousand years ago could not, he says, have obeyed the army sergeant's command, "attention!"; his knees were forever crooked. With such a being what have we in common? And strictly speaking an evolutionist, to whom change is all, has no perspective whatsoever, not beyond his own nose. He is the first and last of his kind. His perspective is not a perspective: it is a chart hung on the wall.

Similarly those with a cyclic view of history have a philosophy which greatly affects their perspective. Believing as they do that history keeps on beginning over and over again, how can they really look back of the last beginning? They can see the other cycles perhaps, but only with an unconcern that can whistle at their sorrows. Previous cycles become, as in the case of the evolutionists, mere drop-curtains.

There is a third kind of philosophy which prevents a man from having a deep perspective and that is such a philosophy as led

[1] *Ancient Types of Man* (London, 1912), introduction.

Thucydides to belittle those who came before his day and neglect those who were not, after his manner, civilized. It was not the end or beginning of a cycle that blinded him. He would have been willing to see a continuity between the days when the Greeks wandered about poor and his own rich days of Pericles. But the difference between the men of his day and those of old time seemed to him of such importance that the unity of men was unimportant. Those who lived before the time of the Greek cities ceased to him to count, and he was willing to let the poets, for whom also he had a contempt, write about them. All he had to say of them, himself, was that they were of "no ability at all, either for greatness of cities or provision." The Peloponnesian War was to him the first really important event in history. It was his subject.

After the days of Thucydides the pride of the Greek cities had its fall, and the influence of the various mystery religions that followed in the Hellenistic discouragement, tended to obliterate the line which Thucydides had drawn between men of one kind and another. Finally the Christian religion further erased it. It was not until St. Augustine, however—not until eight hundred years after Thucydides—that a Christian historian established the Christian perspective. St. Augustine in his *City of God* made his perspective grand not by seeing and describing as many empires as we now know to have existed, nor by setting more than five thousand years back of his day the creation of man; he gave grandeur to his perspective by seeing the tremendous oneness of its drama. He portrayed the unity of all history, gathering its many apparent digressions together into the story of a heavenly city the foundations of which were not on this earth. No date in time then ruptured the story of mankind to the Christians, not even the date of the Incarnation, for the Incarnation made all men, those born before and those born after, participant in one Redemption.

All through the Middle Ages this grand perspective made vivid by St. Augustine, persisted in the minds of the historians and in the minds of those who read history. The historians, themselves, began their chronicles with Adam and Eve. Those who read, those who wrote lighter works than history, ever treated the human race as one family. Some people say that the mediaeval artists and poets lacked historical perspective, for they put Duke Theseus and

Prince Sisera into the same costume as their neighbor baron. It is true that they did not have a sense of the changes that time can bring about, nor perhaps of the depth of the differences accidental that can separate man from man, but they had the perspective of seeing all human history as one drama, and as one for which they had vital concern, for they were still in it.

In the sixteenth century when men were losing their sense of the City of God and were becoming much more preoccupied with the earthly cities ruled by this or that king, then this consciousness of human solidarity began to fade out. Men again came to be divided into the civilized and the uncivilized, into those who would make good citizens in a particular earthly city and those who would not. There came to be among the lettered and consciously superior savants a scorn of the primitive savage which in such a man as the philosopher Hobbes, who by the way translated Thucydides, turned into a dread. To him his far ancestors were a nightmare. Ungoverned and ferocious they repelled him and life among them was "solitary, poor, brutish and brief." [2]

Even the Christian bishop, Bossuet, had a similar lack of sympathy for his distant ancestors. In writing his *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle* he was contrasting the perennity of religion with the caducity of empires. Through religion, through the Scriptures, he did look far back, but when he turned to his list of empires, only the Roman really interested him. The others were but failures to be Roman empires. Its law and order was the one law and order. He could understand the Roman Empire. "It is easy now," he says, "to know the causes of the rise and fall of Rome." [3]

After the time of Bossuet various theories arose that tended to make man feel more at home with his far ancestors. There was the theory of progress, and there was the cult of the primitive, as expressed in the Romantic Movement. In the eighteenth century the historians of progress looked on progress as a human triumph due to the accumulation of knowledge. Their successors in the nineteenth ascribed it to blind and inevitable evolution. In neither case did it give any grandeur to the historical perspective, for in

[2] Hobbes, *Complete Works* (London, 1853), XIV, 100.
[3] *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1846), V, 479.

both cases it separated the historian from the part he looked at by exalting him inappropriately above it. As for the romantic historians who preferred the hairy free savage to the civilized shackled man, their histories were so demonstrably false that the Thucydidean historians laughed them off the field.

In the nineteenth century a further somewhat unnoticed element of grandeur faded from the historical perspective, and that was the sense of Divine Providence. Even among the eighteenth-century rationalists that sense had persisted, though vaguely. The Liberals however that followed them had no use for it, and in spite of the reaction of such men as Joseph De Maistre, there came a time when only such parts of history as were of interest in the light of contemporary planning commanded ready attention. An historian, who looked on all history as an account of the purely human struggle for political liberty, had to be blind to much human history that was nevertheless important to God.[4]

But there did come a change, though the change was not due to any revived sense of God's Providence. Rather it was a new pessimism, or a new contrition, or a new humility that brought it about. At any rate it came. We all remember the shower of books about civilization that fell from the literary skies just after the peace of Versailles. There was H. G. Wells's *Outline of History,* there was Spengler's *Decline of the West,* and there were various very sober attempts to rewrite the history of all civilization. Among these latter was that series, *L'Evolution de l'Humanité,* edited by Henri Berr, which began to appear in 1921, and which will ultimately contain fifty-one volumes. There was an English series, with a more Christian, even Catholic tone, that edited by Edward Eyre, *European Civilization, Its Origin and Development,* the first volume of which appeared in 1934 and which will ultimately be about half the length of Berr's. And then there is another series in English, to be twice as long as Berr's. It is that edited by C. K. Ogden, called the *History of Civilization,* which began in 1927. What is noticeable about these efforts and similar ones, and gives them novelty, is not their title, for world histories have been written before: it is the emphasis they place on

[4] Maritain, *Freedom in the Modern World* (New York, 1936), 86.

eras of the past which have hitherto been treated but in a preface. Eyre gives a seventh of his series to the part preceding Marathon. Ogden allots seventeen volumes to the same field, and Berr allots a like proportion.

It is possible to try to explain this new emphasis on the remote past solely in terms of a spiritual change, but it is scarcely fair to the prehistorians and the archeologists so to do. It must be acknowledged that they had prepared information which by its novelty and interest asked to be emphasized.

In the year 1847 a French priest, Boucher de Perthes, discovered in the region of the Somme flints which he claimed had been shaped by man before the Deluge. From them on up to the Great War and beyond it there took place a series of finds by men who called themselves in pride—or was it humility—prehistorians. The treasure they amassed was not to the outsider stupefying in value. For the most part it could have been stuffed into the pockets of those who found it. Yet the investigators were able from what they found to give names to half a dozen civilizations which no one had ever before known to exist. Prehistory began to become interesting even as history. And though the treasure found was not gold there was a beauty in it, or at least in some of it. In 1875 de Mortillet had already exclaimed looking at the sketches of bison in the cave of Altamira: "This is the childhood of art, but it is not the art of a child." [5]

Simultaneous with these discoveries of the remains of prehistoric man there came equally extraordinary discoveries of the ruins and records of men who shouldered the man of prehistory and yet built cities: the empires of the Near East. Up to seventy years ago the historians of such empires derived most of their knowledge of them from books: the histories of Herodotus and the Old Testament, but although Herodotus and the Old Testament still hold their place, there is now another manner of approach to those dead empires.

Sir Arthur Evans has found a path into a Cretan palace which disappeared from the eyes of man a thousand years before Herodotus was born, and Leonard Wooley has by the magic of pick

[5] M. C. Burkitt, *Prehistory* (Cambridge, 1925), 10.

and shovel made himself contemporary with the royal tombs at Ur of the Chaldees, which were old and secret when Abraham was young. Not only has the very skeleton of past empires been exhumed, but their writings—though not the Cretan—have been collected and deciphered. What has been revealed to us of the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Sumerians, the Hittites, the Cretans, since the 1860's has been as dramatic a discovery as the finding of America by Columbus.

But not only is this knowledge of prehistoric and early historic man new, it is knowledge of a special kind, different from what we possess of Periclean Greece and of Rome. Our knowledge of the men of the Stone Age is, as Boule, the Director of the Institute of Human Palaeontology at Paris, reiterates, both splendid and poverty-stricken.[6] We can see his pottery, his drawings and his tombs, but except through a study of primitive peoples of today we know nothing directly of his beliefs, his customs and his exploits, and less than nothing of his leaders and his heroes.

The knowledge of ancient historical man is of a similar poverty and richness. True we have some mention of ancient kings and leaders in the inscriptions but, for the most part, what is visible is the pattern of a civilization, a social structure. Christopher Dawson telling us what has been really discovered concerning Sumerian civilization of three thousand B. C. gives us a sample of such sociological information. "The recent excavations at the great temple of the Moon God at Ur of the Chaldees throw a remarkable light on the businesslike spirit in which the temple economy was conducted. In the temple archives have been found the detailed accounts of the payments of the god's farmers and tenants, carefully balanced month by month, and for everything brought in, even down to six pounds of butter, a written receipt was made out on a clay tablet." [7]

The very nature of the information which prehistorians and archaeologists were able to accumulate recommended it to the historians who came just after the war, and who are still writing. It is hard to know the sins of the cave-man as St. Augustine knew

[6] Marcellin Boule, *Les Hommes Fossiles* (Paris, 1923), 465.
[7] *The Age of the Gods* (London, 1933), 129.

those of the pagan Romans. All that we can learn of them is that they were good artists: behold the paintings of bison, or of hunters chasing the deer. The historian grown pessimist can point at such and mock at the so-called progress of man. There are historians so disgusted with the age of industrialism, and with their own slightly previous smug satisfaction in technical progress, that they listen greedily to such things as the anthropologist Franz Boas says of primitive man and by implication of prehistoric man. "We may even say that the mass of the population in primitive society feels the need of beautifying their lives more keenly than civilized man, at least more than those whose lives are spent under the urgent necessity of acquiring the meagre means of sustenance." [8] All this gives him an opportunity if not to disparage at least to revaluate our present civilization.

Similarly the information concerning the buried empires is just such information and only such as the sociological historian is bent everywhere on discovering; and today is the day of the sociological historian, for we live after a yesterday of irresponsible individualism, and many of us by reaction, even by panic, have fled to sociological study. The state has come to be regarded as an organism not merely by the partisans of a totalitarian régime but by those who would give their lives for the rights of a human personality. It is a time when a Catholic priest, Ramono Guardini, can refer to the aloof liberal humanist who considered himself as the flower of civilization during the nineteenth century as a "human type which has cut itself adrift from the ties which make man's physical and mental life organic." [9]

I do not stand here to praise or blame this new-found affinity with the oldest peoples on the earth, nor to say a word for or against the sociological historian. But I do point out with some assurance that the historian of today possesses a perspective back to the earliest days, which the previous centuries have lacked, and that he can scarcely escape catching sight, while surveying it, of what Chesterton has so matchlessly called "The Everlasting Man."

DANIEL SARGENT.

[8] *Primitive Art* (Oslo, 1927), 356.
[9] *The Church and the Catholic* (New York, 1935), 19.

ELIAS OF CORTONA

(*c.* 1180-1253)

Minister General of the Friars Minor

Maecenas had Horace and Constantine Eusebius to sing their immediate praises, but Brother Elias had to wait until the twentieth century before justice was done his name. History has been singularly unkind to Elias. His very name has become a bugaboo of retreat masters for tepid and lax religious. He is for many the most flagrant example of the lack of religious discipline and of the violation of the vow of poverty, the personified negation of the Franciscan spirit, and the very antithesis of the mortified, poor and humble saint, whom everybody admires, Francis of Assisi. For many, as the editor of a recent work remarks, Elias has remained the cursed friar, twice excommunicated, a rebel against the Church, an apostate of the Order, a scandal to the faithful, a contemptible disgrace to all his confrères.[1]

Yet, when one examines the original and unbiased sources from which alone fair history and biography should be written, Brother Elias does not appear in that dark and sombre light in which he is so often and so unjustly painted. Modern criticism with its technical apparatus for profound investigation and proper evaluation of facts has found it possible to raise Elias from the depths of legend, founded on jealousy and hatred, to the heights of objective truth based on circumspection and realities. It is not the purpose of this essay to put Elias on a pedestal of sainthood but to resurrect him from the inferno to which his name has been relegated and to bring him to some medium place between two extremes where, despite his faults and ambitions, one can still admire the man of deeds, the architect of no mean ability, the organizer of a cosmopolitan Order, the trusted confidant of a great pope, and the faithful companion of the most beloved of saints.

[1] Salvatore Attal (Soter), *Frate Elia, Compagno di S. Francesco* (Rome, 1936), 200.

The common source from which the spirituals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and their followers, derive their prejudiced opinion of Elias is Fra Salimbene of Parma (*b.* Oct. 9, 1221). Whereas his chronicle is otherwise vivacious and picturesque, his treatment of Elias is dictated by a spirit of partiality and animosity that does little credit to the author, who had been received (1238) into the Franciscan Order by the same Brother Elias.[2] One would expect Salimbene at least to have had a higher and more charitable regard for a benefactor and tutor to whom he owed his Franciscan affiliation; yet Salimbene never omits an opportunity to speak disparagingly about his former superior general.

In his *Liber de Praelato* (part II, ch. VII of his chronicle) Salimbene makes thirteen detailed charges against Elias, based mostly on the latter's preference for the lay-brothers; accusing him of a corresponding disregard for the standing of the clerical members of the Order. And this by a seemingly illogical coherence, in spite of his great interest in their higher education, in the better equipment of the newly organized houses of studies, one of which at Paris produced eventually such men of learning as Alexander of Hales, St. Bonaventure of Bagnoreggio, Roger Bacon, and Duns Scotus. But as Attal rightly observes,[3] these two very causes of Salimbene's rancor redound rather to Elias's credit; for, in favoring the lay-brothers Elias was exerting a necessary regard for the majority of the Order at his time, and by insisting on the better education of the clergy he was combating an evil, which all authors admit to have been one of the worst stigmas on the Church of the early Middle Ages. It was Francis himself who entrusted to St. Anthony of Padua the charge of teaching theology to the clerical friars in the famous letter attributed to him. On the other hand lay-brothers, such as Rufine, Masseo, Bernard of Quintavalle, Giles, and Angelus were among the Seraphic Patriarch's most beloved companions. Among his first twelve followers only Sylvester was a priest.

Among those who drank with avidity from the poisoned fountain

[2] Attal, *op. cit.*, 15. [3] *Ibid.*

of Salimbene's chronicle was Thomas Eccleston, the author of *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam.*[4] Eccleston was a member of the clerical party which caused Elias's downfall, but he was not an eye-witness of Elias's actions. His chronicle for that reason is based to a great extent on hearsay. He was too far removed from the center of affairs to be able to claim any degree of impartiality. Eccleston's basic grudge against Elias, like that of Salimbene, is the institution of the visitators who were generally disliked. One must remember, however, that at the time of Elias's generalate (1232-39), the Franciscan Order had extended itself practically throughout the whole civilized world. It counted already at this time a large number of provinces. Some say that Elias would gladly have seen the number augmented to 72 in memory of the 72 disciples of Christ.[5] At the time of his deposition in 1239, the number was reduced to 32.[6] How could one man, with the primitive methods of travelling in those days, despite the fine charger he is claimed to have possessed,[7] personally visit more than 32 provinces reaching from the Scandinavian countries in the north to Sicily in the south and extending from Roumania in the east to the British Isles in the west, to say nothing of the Asiatic and African missions? And yet the rule (ch. X) obliges the minister general to visit his friars. Elias, occupied with important affairs at the papal and imperial courts, with the completion of the grand basilica of Saint Francis at Assisi which was undertaken by order of Pope Gregory IX, and with the erection of convents throughout Italy,[8] felt that he was doing the best he could under the circumstances, by sending to each province provincial visitators. These visitators, as Salimbene and Eccleston complain, may have been harsh in their treatment of the friars and of necessity may have tended to diminish the authority of the

[4] Publ. in the *Analecta Franciscana* (AF), I, 216-275. English translation by Father Cuthbert, O. M. Cap., *The Friars and How they Came to England* (London, 1903), and by E. Gurney Salter, *The Coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany* (London and Toronto, 1926).

[5] Cf. *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (AFH), I, 7.

[6] The list will be found in AFH, I, 17.

[7] Salimbene, VII, § 3; Eccleston, ch. XII.

[8] Salimbene, VII, § 3.

provincial ministers; but the fault is to be laid rather to the individual visitators than to the general who sent them out to assist him in discharging a duty that he could not personally fulfil.[9] For all that, Eccleston's chronicle, as all admit, and as Attal[10] rightly stresses, is so full of anachronisms as to deprive it of serious historical value regarding Brother Elias. About the only thing that Eccleston can say in favor of Elias is that Pope Gregory IX, at the very moment when "he believed that his ministry was no longer acceptable to the brethren" and for that reason had deposed him, did "commend his personal character and speak of his intimacy with St. Francis." Giordano Di Giano, author of another early chronicle,[11] written in 1262 and edited for the first time in 1870 by D. G. Voigt,[12] treats of the beginnings of the Friars Minor in Germany.[13] Giordano transcribes from Salimbene the same complaints about Elias concerning the visitators, the pecuniary exactions demanded for the completion of the basilica at Assisi, and the failure of holding a general chapter during the whole period of his generalate.[14] Concerning this latter charge, however, while not wishing to exonerate Elias entirely, it must be remembered that the rule (ch. VIII) explicitly conceded to the minister general the right to convoke the chapter either once in every three years, or "ad alium terminum majorem, vel minorem, sicut a praedicto Ministro fuerit ordinatum." As a rule, however, Giordano is less bitter against Elias than is Eccleston. He does not show himself scandalized, for example, at the letter *Speravimus hactenus*, May 17, 1230,[15] which Gregory IX addressed to the bishops of Perugia and Assisi regarding the rather scandalous events attending the transfer of the body of St. Francis in 1230 from the church of St. George to the newly erected basilica.

[9] Cf. Attal, ch. IV.

[10] P. 16.

[11] *Chronica Fratris Jordanis a Jano Ord. Fratrum Minorum*, AF, I, 1-19; and continued in AFH, III, 50-54.

[12] AF, I, p. xi.

[13] E. Gurney Salter, 129-190: *The Chronicle of Brother Jordan.*

[14] AF, I, 18 (61, 62).

[15] *Annales Minorum* (AM II, 234; *Bullar. Franc.* (BF) I, 66-67.

It is generally conceded today that Elias acted prudently and with the best of motives in hurriedly concealing the body of the Saint under the high altar of the basilica, before the famous procession had been finished. He feared and not without reason that the Perugians might again want to take advantage of the crowded situation to steal the remains of St. Francis and carry them off to their native city, as Giordano explicitly states when referring to the first burial of St. Francis in 1226 in the aforesaid church of St. George: "timentes, ne propter signa, quae per ipsum et in vita et post mortem Deus dignatus est operari, a Perusinis violenter tolleretur." [16] One need but recall that a few years later, 1262, these very Perugians kept a steady guard around the hermitage where Brother Giles lay dying, lest, as the Franciscan Breviary says, his "mortales exuviae finitimorum devotione subriperentur." [17]

Other Franciscan sources of the early fourteenth century, depending on Salimbene for their depraved opinion of Elias, are the *Speculum Vitae Beati Francisci e Sociorum Ejus,* a work "full of anachronisms, confusion of persons and errors of judgment"; [18] the *Speculum Perfectionis* (of which Sabatier made so much),[19] a polemical treatise of mediocre importance for the life of Elias; [20] and the biased *Chronica delle sette Tribulazioni* by the fanatical Angelo da Clareno, a vile tract full of invectives against the community, the general of the Order, and all others who did not side with the spiritualistic interpretation of the vow of poverty. The controversial attitude and biased intent of all three of these works render them useless material for a fair biography of Elias.

The well-known French layman, Paul Sabatier, whose *Vie de S. François d'Assise* [21] was placed on the Index by virtue of a decree of the S. Congregation on June 8, 1894,[22] published in

[16] AF, I, 16 (50).
[17] Cf. April 23.
[18] Attal, 17.
[19] Cf. AF, VIII, 124; VII, 3, 33, 51.
[20] Attal, 14; MF, XVI, 106.
[21] Paris, 1894 (15th ed.).
[22] *Index Librorum Prohibitorum Leonis XIII Summi Pontificis Auctoritate Recognitis SSMI. D. N. Pii PP. XI, Jussu Editus.* (Romae, Typ. Polyg. Vat., 1924), 243.

1904 a life of Brother Elias based on the aforesaid *Speculum Vitae*.[23] The *Speculum Vitae*, however, as most Franciscan students agree, was not written shortly after the death of St. Francis (1226) nor even during the life-time of Brother Leo, but about a whole century later, in 1318. For that reason its value as a historical source of the life of Brother Elias is small.

Edward Lempp's *Frère Elie de Cortone*[24] was considered for a long time the most precise *étude bibliographique* heretofore published on Elias.[25] This Protestant minister institutes a lengthy and detailed comparison between St. Francis and Brother Elias, which, as one might expect, is entirely to the latter's discredit. Despite the fact that the Saint considered the friar his best friend and maintained a high regard for him until the very end of his life, Francis according to Lempp had to suffer indescribable torture of soul on account of their mutual disagreements. Instead of seeing in Elias one who complemented the work of Francis, the man of deeds who became associated with a great "visionary dreamer," an organizer who made realistic the aspirations of an idealist, Dr. Lempp sees only a hopeless chasm of contrast that irretrievably separates the two. To Dr. Lempp, Elias is but the instrument of Cardinal Ugolino, later Pope Gregory IX, who used him to advance his policies and promote his politics against the Emperor Frederic II, only in the end to abandon and ostracize the hopeless friar by a ruthless excommunication. Thus, according to Lempp, Gregory IX proved himself a false friend to Elias, the same as he did to Francis, whose ideals of poverty he smashed by his pontifical interpretations and mitigations of the Franciscan rule. It is not Elias, according to Lempp, who assailed the heretics or promoted the crusade against the Mohammedans, but St. Anthony of Padua, the first to institute proceedings against the

[23] *Examen de la Vie de Frère Elie du Speculum Vitae Suivé de Trois Fragments inédits par Paul Sabatier* (Paris, 1904). It forms the XI fascicule of the *Opuscules de Critique Historique*, July 1, 1904.

[24] Paris, 1901. It forms the third vol. of the *Collection d'Etudes et de Docum. sur l'hist. relig. littéraire du Moyen Age*, inaugurated by Sabatier with the publication of the *Speculum Perfectionis*.

[25] Cf. Faloci-Pulignani in *Miscellanea Francescana* (MF), VIII, 132; Attal, 14.

spiritual enemies of Mother Church. Dr. Lempp's greatest fault is that he wrote a life of Brother Elias based not on original, but on polemical, documents, especially on the *Speculum Perfectionis* which as Msgr. Faloci says "has a thesis to defend, not a story to tell." [26] The Jesuit Bollandist, F. Van Ortroy, in his criticism of Dr. Lempp, entitled *S. François d'Assise et frère Elie de Cortone* [27] deplores the fact that Elias is brought before the public as one who desired to place the whole Franciscan Order in the hands of the pope to further the ambitions of the Catholic Church. Van Ortroy defends the friar's honesty during the life-time of St. Francis, without however, concealing the dangers that surrounded him, the defects that manifested themselves in his character after the founder's death, and the faults that culminated in his apostasy.[28]

In 1906, Girolamo Golobovich, O. F. M., took Dr. Lempp severely to task,[29] as before him did Faloci and Van Ortroy, for controverting without any vestige of truth evident facts merely to substitute for them his own capricious and sectarian prejudices. Lempp depends on Sabatier; neither wish to admit the supernatural in the life of St. Francis; neither Sabatier's nor Lempp's version of Brother Elias today withstand the test of objectivity; their works were among the last to follow the old school based on the invectives of the thirteenth and fourteenth century spirituals.

It was the great Luke Wadding, the Irish Franciscan author of the *Annales Minorum* [30] who already in the seventeenth century complained that many falsehoods had been fabricated against Elias and many dubious accusations made against him, merely because later he had fallen into bad grace: "Eliam, cui plura ultra veritatem imposita." [31]

By the eighteenth century the tide was decidedly turning in favor of Elias, thanks to a more conscientious study of Franciscan

[26] "Perchè lo *Speculum* ha una tesi da sostenere, non una storia da raccontare," MF, VIII, 133.

[27] Brussels, 1903. [28] MF, IX, 148.

[29] Cf. *Bibliotheca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francescano*. Tom. I (1215-1300), Quaracchi, 1906, 106, note 1.

[30] 3rd ed., Quaracchi, 1931-35. [31] AF, II, 234.

sources and a repudiation of legends and falsehoods which had been founded on ignorance, animosities, and invectives resulting therefrom. Among the first to brave the battle were the Conventuals Felice Mattei of Pisa [32] and the "Anonimo Cortonese," to whom Nicolo Papini, the well-known author of the critical life of St. Francis [33] and minister general of the Friars Minor Conventuals, ascribes the *Vita di Fra Elia*, published at Livorno in 1755, and reprinted in the same city in 1763; the Conventuals Antonio Maria Azzoguidi [34] and Michele da Firenze, who in 1778 published his *Notizie critiche istoriche e morali francescane concernenti la vita di San Francesco d'Assise*; *le gesta di frate Elia di Cortona*, wherein the author proposed to show that Brother Elias was "the best disciple of St. Francis." His bold assertion at such a day must have been considered by many "scandalosa" or at least "piis auribus offensiva"; but today, says Attal,[35] "the conclusions at which an impartial criticism have arrived do not differ greatly from the judgments" of those pioneers who began turning the tide in favor of Elias. "The figure of Elias stands out in a profile and a dignity that neither time nor calumny have been able to outshadow." [36]

Shortly after these publications the Ireneo Affò, O. F. M., published in 1783 at Parma his *Vita di Frate Elia*, a worthy biography written with a sense of a "healthy historical criticism" and based for the most part on the two "Legends" of the Life of St. Francis by Tommaso da Celano. Celano's "Leggenda Prima" was written between 1221-1230 under the general, Bl. John Parenti, the first successor of St. Francis (1227-1232). Celano knew Elias personally and could not help speaking of him in a life of St. Francis with whom Elias, as his companion and vicar, was so closely associated. Affò rightly designates the first "Legend" of Celano as a most important source of a real biography of Elias. In his "Seconda Leggenda" Celano does not contradict what he said about Elias in his "Leggenda Prima;" on

[32] Cf. MF, XX, 42.
[33] *La Storia di S. Francesco di Assisi*, 2 vols., Foligno, 1825.
[34] *Sancti Antonii Sermones in Psalmos Nota XXVI.* Bologna, 1757.
[35] P. 21, note 1. [36] *Op. cit.*, 11.

the contrary, he confirms it anew. It is true he never mentions Elias by name; but there was a reason. The " Secunda Leggenda " was written during the generalate of Crescenzio da Jesi (1244-1247) at a time when Elias had already apostatized from the Order and lay under an excommunication from the Pope. It is a purely arbitrary assumption of Lempp to attribute to an undue influence on the part of Elias the few favorable, modest, and necessary remarks made concerning his person by Celano; or to assert that there exists a contradiction between Celano's first and second " Legend " regarding Elias.[37]

Among modern authors who have written well of Elias, Attal mentions in the first place the illustrious Franciscan Girolamo Golobovich who, after having dedicated over a hundred printed pages of the first volume of his classical *Biblioteca Bio-Bibliografica della Terra Santa* [38] to a critical study of the sources referring to the sojourn of St. Francis in the Orient, gives us a short but well-written biography on Brother Elias, the first provincial of the Holy Land (1217-1220), the second vicar of St. Francis (1221-1227) and the third minister general of the Order (1232-1239). Golobovich, as we have seen above, takes Lempp to task in no uncertain terms for his rationalistic viewpoints in virtue of which historical facts are made subservient to preconceived prejudices.[39] Although dependent on Affò's critical studies for facts in the life of Elias, Dr. Lempp hardly considers it worth his while even to cite Affò. According to Attal, Golobovich has given us the first biography of Elias that " rightly evaluates the grandeur of Elias' actions and the eminence of his genius." [40]

Father Vittorino Facchinetti, O. F. M., professor of Franciscan history at the Catholic University of Milan, a popular Italian radio speaker on religious subjects and recently appointed by the Holy See as Apostolic Delegate to Tripoli, has likewise given us in his artistic and widely circulated Life of St. Francis of Assisi [41] a picture of Brother Elias which comes very close to historical

[37] Attal, 13-14.
[38] Quaracchi, 1906.
[39] *Ibid.*, I, 106, note 1.
[40] *Op. cit.*, 12.
[41] *S. Francesco d'Assisi nella Storia, nella Leggenda, nell'Arte* (Milano, 1921).

reality and bears the imprint of serene impartiality. In proof of Facchinetti's fairness Faloci accentuates the admission on the part of the author that the assertion that the " heart of St. Francis is buried in the Basilica of the Portiuncula is gradually being relegated to the field of legend." [42]

It was Domenico Sparacio, the Conventual historian,[43] who among modern authors was the first to treat the life of Elias from a critical viewpoint of the original sources and courageously to combat the slurs that had so ignominiously been made against him.[44] Among other myths relegated by Sparacio to the land of legend, where it rightly belongs, was the so-called verbal altercation Brother Elias was supposed to have had with St. Anthony of Padua on the vow of poverty [45] as concocted by the *Speculum Vitae*.[46] St. Anthony of Padua had been dead eight years at the time this mythological rendezvous before Pope Gregory IX was supposed to have taken place, *i. e.*, in 1239, when Elias was supplanted by Albert of Pisa as general of the Order (1239-40).[47] Eccleston in his *De Adventu* puts the words attributed by the *Speculum* to St. Anthony into the mouth of Haymo of Faversham, Albert's successor (1240-44).[48] Faloci, the founder and for many years the editor of the *Miscellanea Francescana*, in his general review of Sparacio's critical study of Elias writes: " *La sua tesi non può non essere accettata da chiunque ragioni senza preconcetti.*" [49]

Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, speaking for the present gloriously reigning Pope Pius XI, in his letter of June 12, 1923 commends the " praiseworthy endeavors " of Sparacio " to clarify more and more the historical truth surrounding the celebrated companion of St. Francis by vindicating his merits and not dissimulating his defects." [50] Similar eulogies came from the pen of the Jesuit

[42] MF, XXIV, 168.

[43] For a bibliographical sketch of his works cf. MF, XXX, 180-192.

[44] *Fra Elia, Compagno, Vicario, e Successore di Francesco Serafice. Profilo Storico* (2nd Ed., Milan, 1923); publ. likewise in the MF, XVII, 1 ff.

[45] Cf. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, 27-42.

[46] Edition of 1509, 617 a.

[47] Cf. AF, III, 233.

[48] Cf. AF, I, 242.

[49] MF, XXIV, 172.

[50] MF, XXX, 185.

Bollandists [51] and of the Franciscan reviewer, Salvatore Tosti, in the *Archivium Franciscanum Historicum.*[52] Both however, lament the passionate tone in which Sparacio treated his subject.

Monsignor Faloci finally made a critical study of Elias's political relations with the emperor, Frederic II—relations which eventually induced Pope Gregory IX to excommunicate the unfortunate friar.[53] In his essay Faloci shows that Elias never took part in a political conspiracy against the pope by promising to help deliver the city of Assisi into the hands of the emperor. The contrary assumption by Luigi Salvatorelli is based on a false interpretation of a witness' allegation made before the mayor of Assisi, on January 3, 1245.[54] Faloci proves that Elias never entertained anything but the friendliest and most loyal attitude toward the august person of the supreme pontiff.[55] The feeling between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines ran high in those days.[56] Elias sided with the latter, yet he could not be induced to betray his beloved Assisi where under the protection of a pope he had built a lasting monument to the memory of St. Francis. On the other hand Faloci gladly approves of what Salvatorelli said in his lecture *S. Francesco e Frate Elia*, delivered at Assisi before the "Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani," in April, 1929, namely, that Elias's fall was due not so much to the jealousy of the early companions of St. Francis and the invectives of the thirteenth century spirituals, as much as to the rising aristocracy of the Order,[57] "the doctors, ministers provincial and priests who were no longer willing to tolerate the government of a layman who favored laymen." [58] Perhaps it is for this very reason that laymen of today (Sagui, Salvatorelli, Attal, Mizzi, etc.) take such an interest in Elias.[59]

[51] *Anal. Boll.*, X.
[52] XIV, 313.
[53] MF, XXIX, 129-133.
[54] Cf. MF, XXX, 16, XXXI, 51.
[55] Cf. *Ibid.*
[56] Cf. Cornelio L. Sagui, *Frate Elia e la lotta fra la Chiesa e l'Impero nel XIII secolo* (Assisi, 1928).
[57] Cf. Sparacio, *Fra Elia*, 28-29.
[58] Cf. MF, XXX, 64.
[59] Cf. Ing. Luigi Mizzi, *Frate Elia da Cortona.* Conference held at the "Casa del Littorio" in Cortona, April 13, 1931, and reprinted in the MF, XXXI, 89, 175, 233.

After these various and often contradictory studies, monographs and biographies of Elias which had been printed down the centuries, had shown the undeniable importance attached to his name in Church, State, and the Franciscan Order, it was but only natural that the wish expressed by Giuseppe Abate, O. M. Conv., the present editor of the *Miscellanea Francescana*, should be fulfilled, namely, that the "praiseworthy endeavor" to clarify more and more the life and deeds of Brother Elias "be undertaken by some truly learned and impartial writer, preferably a Franciscan of undisputed scientific authority, the fruits of whose labors would react favorably on the whole Franciscan Order."[60] Just such an impartial and critical work seems to be the one published this year (1936) by Salvatore Attal (Soter), who is not a Franciscan, but a layman, as Bruno Bruni had hoped,[61] and besides an Israelite.[62]

Attal has divided his book into five chapters, replete with copious notes and citations to elucidate and confirm his assertions. The first, and undoubtedly the most important chapter, deals with the Franciscan sources of Elias' life; the second, with Brother Elias, the Companion of St. Francis; the third, with Brother Elias, the Vicar of St. Francis; the fourth, with Brother Elias, the General of the Friars Minor; the fifth, finally, with Brother Elas, the Penitent at an imperial court. Attal's work is critically based on facts. How different is the figure of Elias as portrayed by Attal and that penned by Salimbene? Seven centuries lie between the two works. Salimbene shows us the man he hated and in whom he could find only one thing to praise: "his promotion of theological studies in the Franciscan Order."[63] Attal shows us the man he admires, despite his human defects, for the permanent good he accomplished in an Order that was destined to do great things for the Catholic Church but which in that time Elias still considered too idealistically conceived and too loosely organized to achieve that high purpose. "If it was a fault in

[60] MF, XXX, 185.

[61] MF, XXXII, 52.

[62] Attal has already edited several works on Franciscan history: his *San Francisco d'Assisi*, publ. at Livorno, 1931; his *Frate Angelo Tancredi, Cavaliere di S. Francesco*, Assisi, 1932; and his *Giosue Borsi Terziario di S. Francesco*, Assisi, 1935.

[63] *Chronica*, VII, § 1.

Elias to have divined the thought of Gregory IX, by organizing a vigorous trunk that had its seed and root in Francis, it is true that fault Elias had; but, 'O felix culpa,'" exclaims Faloci. "It was Elias, who together with Gregory IX, caused the admirable Franciscan institution to continue down to our days. Without a Gregory IX, without an Elias of Cortona, St. Francis would indeed always have remained a very great ascetic and a venerable figure, but his followers would have gone along blindfolded, would have fallen into exaggeration, into the impossible, perhaps even into the grotesque, and transformed themselves into heretics, rebels, and perverts." [64]

It was to Elias that Francis gave his last blessing, commending to him the care of his present children from whom he was about to be separated by Sister Death, and those future ones who were to follow in his footsteps after his departure. "Te fili, in omnibus et per omnia benedico." [65] According to an old codex (written before 1260) discovered at Terni by Giuseppe Abate, O. M. Conv., Francis in his last moments, passed a benign look on Elias, saying "Qui humeris propriis onera mea suscipiens, fratrum necessitates viriliter supportasti." [66] Elias compliments Francis, "quem loco matris elegerat sibi et aliorum fratrum fecerat patrem." [67] Both together, the idealism of Francis and the practical sense of Elias, made the Franciscan Order what it is today. In the words of Attal, "Brother Elias was one of the greatest men of his day. He surpassed all of his Franciscan contemporaries by the vastness of his mentality, and by the acumen of his intellect. He was in a position to comprehend as well the moral heights of St. Francis of Assisi as the political aspirations of a Frederick II, and to reconcile both in his reverence and love for Holy Church, the common Mother whom emperor and friar alike invoked with ardent passion on their bed of death. At the court of Frederick, Elias was not an adversary but a defender of

[64] MF, VIII, 133.

[65] Celano, *Vita Prima*, part I, ch. VII; *Vita Secunda*, part III, ch. 140; MF, IX, 107, XXXII, 49; *S. Francesco di Assisi*, III (August, 1923), 217.

[66] Cf. MF, XXX, 138.

[67] Celano, *Vita Prima*, part II, ch. 2.

the Church. He desired a reconciliation between the Church and the emperor and spent his most noble endeavors in the hope of effecting it. But alas! the times were not ripe for so sublime an undertaking. Brother Elias was prostrated by his failure. The hatred and the calumnies which followed in the wake of his fall covered his fame with the basest ignominy. Today his merits, testified by the earliest sources, shine once more in their full splendor and attract the admiration of the impartial historian. The glory of Brother Elias is the glory of the Franciscan Order. All three Seraphic Families of the Friars Minor—despite their external variances—united in sanctity of life, in zest for learning, in admirable charity and ardent love for their common holy Founder, reflect to their own glory the light and splendor that surround the personality of Brother Elias." [68]

RAPHAEL M. HUBER.

[68] Pp. 18-19.

THE PURITAN THEORY OF THE SACRAMENTS IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY NEW ENGLAND*

The chronicle which I wish to relate this morning concerns a people who in their time would have had no traffic whatsoever with such a meeting as this. The most influential minister in the colony of Massachusetts Bay some three hundred years ago was the Reverend John Cotton, the "teacher," as he was called, of the Church in Boston. John Cotton held a theory of history that was simplicity itself: Christianity had been established as a living, vital faith by the Apostles; soon after their era the churches (New England Puritans never spoke of The Church, but always of the churches) fell into what Cotton called "a dead frame," and the mark of that spiritual death was the Supremacy of the Pope of Rome. But within the last century had come a rebirth of the Christianity of Christ and the Apostles; the power of Rome was broken, and the reformed churches were arisen "from a state of formality to the power of Godlinesse," and were now, "thoroughly reformed and refined, both they in their own Spirits, and Soules, and Conscience, and in the Church Administrations in all they goe about."[1] He further declared that there were in England certain worldly-minded statesmen, cynical and atheistical men, who cared nothing for truth and sought civil order at whatever cost, men who were wont to say "that if it were not for hot-spur'd Jesuites on the one side, and hot-spur'd Puritans (as they call them) on the other side, Protestants and Papists might be easily reconciled." Such dreams, Cotton said, were at best "whisperings of flesh and blood"; Protestants and Papists could never under any circumstances be reconciled.[2] The last possibility he ever dreamed was that his Protestant interpretation of the sacraments should ever become a subject for historical research, and that one

* Paper read at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, December 27, 1935, Boston, Massachusetts.

[1] *The Church's Resurrection* (London, 1642), 17.

[2] *An Exposition upon the Thirteenth Chapter of Revelation* (London, 1656), 144-145.

of his spiritual descendants should endeavor to expound it, here in his own Boston, to decidedly lively members of what he was pleased to call a frame that was dead.

It is not my intention in disinterring his thoughts and those of his colleagues in the New England churches to attempt to reconcile the Jesuit and the Puritan, or to take sides with either one against the other. It is simply that as a part of my historical studies in the beginnings of New England I have seen this story emerge from the writings of the men themselves, and I present it to you for what it is worth, knowing that you are a people interested in the religious life, whether or not in forms which you hold.

I think it is a platitude by now that the colony of Massachusetts Bay was founded by a group of men and women inspired by a very intense religious fervor, and that the history of their churches and their creed during the next hundred years was one of a slow cooling of that fervor, a crystallization of the original passion into formality and compromise with the world. Such a statement is to be accepted only in a relative sense; even in 1720 or 1730, when the ministers thought the "declension" was at its lowest, the New England communities were, judged by the ordinary standards of life today, sufficiently pious. But as compared with the founding generation there had been a notable falling off and lessening of zeal. John Cotton preached to the first congregations in Boston that no man should take up his religion simply because it was the custom of the country, or because the magistrates recommended it to him; "for it behooves every Christian man to know well what he believes, and practises, and to know the doctrine of Christ, and the Government and worship of Christ, and that not because men say so, but because you see light for it from the Word of the Son of God."[9] A century later it becomes clear that many men were accepting their religion very much as a matter of course because it was familiar custom and established order. We may well smile today at the assumption made by the founders, that their own intensity of religious experience would be maintained once they had removed from the arena of religious combat in Europe and erected a serene society in which there was no longer occasion for the

[9] *Ibid.*, 221.

excitement that comes with conflict. But it was of the essence of their thought that they attribute their own ardor to no such natural causes, but solely to the inspiration of the grace of God, and therefore they went ahead in absolute confidence that God would continue to maintain their children and grand-children at the same level of dedication.

It was in the might of their overwhelming sincerity that they proceeded to erect in New England the precise form of church government which they believed to be the perfect incarnation of their principles. The New England Puritans are usually called Calvinists, and so indeed in a general sense they were; but they were not simon-pure Calvinists, and in many respects they carried the theology to implications which John Calvin himself would have been the first to condemn. He would certainly have disapproved violently of their ecclesiastical polity. They believed that if true Christians were only those whom God had predestined to salvation, and that if in this life most of the elect could reach an assurance of their calling, then all churches should be constituted of none but the visible elect. Only authentic saints could be admitted to the fellowship. Each separate fellowship, being made up of holy men and women, would then be autonomous, elect its own officers, admit its own members, govern its own affairs. By these means, the founders felt, the principle of predestination would become the foundation of the visible church; the organization of the church would carry out the sovereign will of God, and since all the reprobate would be excluded, the church militant would be identical with the communion of saints in the church triumphant. For many centuries in Europe, at least from the time of the Donatists, this vision of the perfect embodiment of the City of God in the temporal structure of the church had tantalized men's dreams; now in New England it was realized at last, and because he was so supremely confident that it had been realized. John Cotton could speak in such a vein as this:

> We believe no visible Church, but Congregations; and therefore if you come to heare of a Roman Catholick visible Church, whereof the Pope is the head . . . we look at such a body as a great Beast.[4]

[4] *Ibid.*, 13.

The rôle of the sacraments was defined in the light of this theory of the church. To New England Puritans the Congregational system seemed, indeed, to be the only one in which the sacraments could be administered in accordance with the orthodox Calvinist belief. The general outlines of that belief are probably familiar to you; to phrase it very roughly, it held that since individuals are saved by the free election of God operating directly upon the soul, no sacrament or ceremony can of itself "justify and confer grace"; it can only help to confirm or strengthen grace in those who already have it. Though the elect ought to use the sacraments as a valuable exercise, grace does not come through the sacraments but quite apart from them, and they really are of no value whatsoever to anyone who has not already been effectually called. Calvin had said that the Catholic interpretation of the sacraments was obviously diabolical, because by "representing the sacraments as the cause of justification, it envelops the minds of men, naturally too much inclined to the earth, in gross superstition, leading them to rest in the exhibition of a corporeal object rather than in God himself." Consequently, there can be no sense in which the sacraments generate or create faith in us; they have no "perpetual inherent virtue, efficacious of itself to the advancement or confirmation of faith," and are attended with no benefit except to those whose hearts are "already instructed." God cannot be confined to any corporeal channels. He works whatever He chooses to work "by a proper and intrinsic power," and by such immediate action are we saved, not by any thing flowing from or contained in the sacraments.[5]

The New England Puritans started from this theory. Thomas Hooker, the leading minister in the settlement of Connecticut in 1636—he was, as a matter of fact, practically a pope in that small community—said that while we may and should use all the means that will help us come to Christ, that we should attend sermons and avail ourselves of the Sacraments,

> yet you must wait upon God in the use of the meanes, for it is not the meanes that will doe it, that will work faith, but the Spirit of God in the use of the meanes.[6]

[5] *Institutes*, Bk. III, Chap. xiv.

[6] "The poore doubting Christian," *The Saints Cordials* (London, 1629), 361.

But precisely because they did believe this Calvinist tenet with such absolute conviction, the Puritans went a step further; if the sacrament was of value only to those who already had faith, then to those exclusively should it be administered. Calvin had not carried his teaching to this extreme because it had not occurred to him that the eye of man could with even approximate accuracy distinguish the elect from the non-regenerate, and he had intended that all men in the community should be given the sacrament, although they should be told that only the predestined among them would receive any benefit from it. The Puritans so thoroughly believed that in almost all instances a regenerate person would show evidences of his good estate that they placed full trust in their technique of distinguishing him from the rest; consequently they constituted their churches as select bodies of visible saints, and thus insured that the sacrament would not be even offered to any but to those who already had faith, and so to those who alone would profit by it.

As far as the sacrament of the Communion, or the Lord's Supper as they preferred to call it, was concerned, their theory seemed to be easily realizable in practice. A visible saint would make a profession of faith before the congregation; if his account of his religious experience was satisfactory, if he could prove that he had undergone conversion, then he was admitted to the sacrament. This practice was clearly and demonstrably deducible from the theory; no one who had not achieved the ability to prove himself a visible saint could receive the Lord's Supper, and the Lord's Supper could only be administered to those whose election was previously ascertained. Thus in the use of this sacrament the Puritans were confident that they would eternally avoid the error of the Council of Trent, which in its Decree of Session VII had succinctly affirmed the very thing the Puritans were most eager to deny; "by means of the Sacraments all true righteousness . . . begins" (*per sacramenta omnis vera justitia . . . incipit*), for in that statement they discerned the cornerstone of the kingdom of Babylon.

But in the practice of the second sacrament, baptism—and of

course for the Puritans as for all Reformed Churches there were only these two sacraments—there were complications. For baptism as well as communion could be administered only on the supposition that the recipient already had been chosen in the eternal counsel of God, that he too was a visible saint, and that his baptism was not the cause of his faith, but a confirmation of that which he already possessed. When an adult was converted, or a pagan Indian brought to the truth, there was no problem; having given evidence that he was now a saint, he was baptized, made his profession, and was admitted to the table of the communion. But what could be said about children, persons baptized before they were capable of making a profession, before anything could be told one way or another about their condition? Upon what grounds could the sacrament be bestowed upon them? How could they receive it on the theory that they were simply being confirmed and strengthened in that which they already possessed by the direct infusion of the Spirit?

It is fairly well known, I take it, that many earnest Protestants in Europe during the century before John Cotton, reasoning along these lines, had come to the conclusion that children could not legitimately be baptized at all if the sacrament was to be applied only to the known elect. Various groups, having reached this conclusion, had attempted to act upon it, and the results had not been edifying. The history of Europe was strewn with the horrors that followed upon this doctrine, the doctrine of Anabaptists and fanatics. The ministers of New England had no intention that their church order, based upon the will and election of God, should become a haven for what Cotton called "deluded Sectaries" who "sleight ordained Ministers and all publick-visible Church-ordinances."[7] That they might not be reduced to such straits, they summoned up their ingenuity and constructed a theory of the sacrament of baptism that is one of the marvels of Protestant casuistry.

They took as their starting point, in explaining how children might be baptized on the ground that they already were discernibly

[7] *Of the Holinesse of Church-Members* (London, 1650), 25.

among the elect, a doctrine which seemed to them clearly derived from Scripture, particularly from certain books of the Old Testament. They found therein warrant for asserting that when God chooses this or that individual He also enters voluntarily in a covenant or compact with him, as He did with Abraham, that He will extend his grace to the saint's children. God Himself promises, and enters a solemn covenant to bind Himself to His promise, that once He bestows grace upon any man, He will bestow it also upon that man's seed. The first minister at Concord, Peter Bulkley, put the theory thus:

> The Fathers returne and take hould of the Covenant, and then the Covenant takes hold of their seed after them; and by this means it comes to passe, that it proves to be an everlasting Covenant between God and them, and their generation after them, because it takes in children together with their fathers . . . and so continues for ever.[8]

The parents, coming to faith from a state of paganism, must be taught before they can become disciples, so Cotton argues; but the children are thereupon received by God Himself, although they do not understand what is taught and are as yet incapable of giving the slightest evidence that they have faith.[9] Thus the visible saints in the first generation of New England could rest assured that their children were redeemed at the same time they themselves were, and would in time exhibit the external marks of grace in the form of an ability to make public profession.

This theory of the covenant was certainly an innovation in orthodox Calvinism, but to these theologians it did not seem to be a departure from the fundamental principles of the theology. It was, in the first place, derived from Scripture; in the second place, it did not infringe God's sovereign liberty to elect and reject regardless of merit. He entered into covenant with His chosen and their seed out of His royal choice. Nevertheless, it was clear that when the mystery of predestination was elaborated in such terms, though the letter of the doctrine had not been violated, the spirit

[8] *The Gospel-Covenant* (London, 1651), 153.

[9] *The Ground and Ends of the Baptisme of the Children of the Faithfull* (London, 1647), 25.

of the sacrament of baptism was strangely altered. For it was no longer so much the confirmation of a faith already existing, it was the seal of a covenant, the attestation of a bond delivered by God, guaranteeing that in course of time the child of regenerate parents would become also regenerate, and that for all practical purposes, therefore, he might be treated as one of the elect. The sacrament is the seal of this royal grant, exactly as a seal is affixed to the grant of a charter by the king of England. Thomas Hooker said that Scripture is an "Indenture," whereby the treasure of God's grace is made known to the soul of man:

> And the holy Sacraments are as the broad seales whereby the Covenant of grace is confirmed, made authenticall and ratified to your Soules. When a man hath much goods and lands and would make an other his heire, hee passeth his lands or goods over to him by will, and if the will is not onely drawne but also sealed, then . . . it is a speciall meanes to convey this treasure to the heire that must have it. So, the Word is the will of God, and the Sacraments are the Seales to it.[10]

One such quotation will serve as well as the hundred that might be cited. By itself it is sufficient to indicate the direction in which the Puritan theory of baptism was tending, even in the first days, in the very heyday of the original fervor and sincerity. The ministers were already, in the interests of perpetuating their churches, devising an interpretation of the rite of baptism that was eminently legalistic in character; they believed that God had committed Himself, and they were going to hold Him to his bond, and at the same time preserve their own consistency. They defended their argument as being perfectly orthodox; the first minister at Watertown, George Phillips, said, "Baptisme is not regeneration, being not to be administered but to regenerate persons knowne before to bee so." [11] But because God had promised to be a God not merely to Abraham alone, but to both Abraham and his seed, not to the saints alone but to their children also, the baptism administered to the children of saints was administered to persons known to be regenerate, though in this case it was known to the ministers, not to the recipients of the sacrament.

[10] *The Soules Humiliation* (London, 1638), 60-61.
[11] *A Reply to a Confutation* (London, 1645), 76.

Thus there were two roads of admission into the Congregational churches of New England, one by experience and one by birth. Those who entered by either way received the sacrament of baptism. But each method theoretically exemplified the same assumption, that the sacrament was bestowed after faith, not before it. The difference was that in the first method the faith was proved; in the second it was predicted and was yet to be proved, but predicted on the word of God, and therefore not so much predicted as infallibly predicated. "Baptisme is not the first grace," explained Phillips, "but the second; nor doth it confer grace, but confirm the former, which therefore must be presupposed." [12] Hence, though the churches of New England had in the first instance been painfully and meticulously made up only of those the sincerity and purity of whose religious life could be proved to the hilt, those churches were to continue a vested interest and be populated down the ages by the lineal descendants of the original saints, simply because Scripture seemed unmistakably to promise that the descendants would be brought up to the mark their forefathers had attained. There is a distinction to be made, said Phillips, between a new church about to be formed, and a company that is now constituted; the first must receive the Gospel and profess it before they can be "sealed," "but in a Church now constituted, the like is not required, but the Churches are propogated by continuall succession." [13] The sublime assurance of these men that God would execute what He had promised is certainly exhilarating to contemplate; their equally sublime confidence that they and they alone had fully deciphered what He had promised might, however, give rise to other reflections. In their minds there were certainly no doubts. Peter Bulkley preached in these terms:

> The virtue, the blessing, and efficacy of the Covenant shall never be disannulled, but it shall goe on to you and your children for ever; by your Covenant, you have such hold of God, that you may be assured, he will be a God, not to you onely, but to a thousand generations after you. . . . Some of your seed shall stand before the Lord, to serve him for ever.[14]

Baptism of children was therefore not properly speaking a seal

[12] *Ibid.*, 126. [13] *Ibid.*, 3-4. [14] *The Gospel-Covenant*, 23.

upon their personal faith; actually it was a seal upon a promise of God; the first minister in Lynn said, it " is not primarily and properly the seale of mans faith, or repentance, or obedience, but of Gods Covenant rather." [15] But because God's Covenant made the thing an undoubted certainty, to baptize a child because he was in the covenant was really to baptize him because he had the prerequisite faith.

It is, I think, one of the ironies of a century in which the history of religious thought, in all camps, is replete with ironies, that the New England Puritans, who claimed to have realized on earth the age-old dream of Christians, an external church order identical with internal holiness, should have so soon become the defenders of a formality, a purely legal theory of church order, far beyond anything to which they objected in the Anglican or Catholic hierarchy. It may particularly interest this audience to find that the ministers defended this very theory against Catholicism; Thomas Shepard, the minister at Cambridge, declared that papists pervert the doctrine of the covenant by arguing that " spiritual promises descend to us not by carnal generation . . . but by spiritual regeneration," and answered that while he and his colleagues insisted of course upon the necessity for spiritual regeneration, they were also certain that such regeneration comes almost automatically to the children of believers. " The very form of the covenant," he said, " manifestly declares " this to be true.[16]

The ironic unfolding of the theory began to be apparent in the second and third decades of the colonial experiment, when the children were coming to maturity and discovering what the sacrament really required of them. Theoretically they had been elected at the time their parents had made a profession, long before their own birth perhaps, and their baptism had followed upon a faith assigned to them. But as far as they themselves were concerned, the order of things had been reversed. They were in fact persons who had first been baptized, and they had yet to acquire the visible

[15] Thomas Cobbet, *A Just Vindication of the Covenant and Church-Estate of the Children of Church-members* (London, 1648), 54.

[16] *Works*, ed. John Albro, Boston, 1853, 3 vols., III, 498-499.

signs of the grace they were supposed to have. By the pure doctrine of Congregationalism, if they did not receive these signs there could be no assurance that they had received the grace. The faith which had been presupposed for them was, after all, hypothetical; it had been imputed to them because a particular interpretation of the Scriptures had seemed to warrant such an imputation. What a horrible prospect opened before the ministers if, in spite of what the Bible had so clearly promised, the children did not fulfill the promise! The question would inevitably arise, had such children ever really had any title to baptism? Almost before the ministers realized what they were doing, they were taking precautions to avoid facing this eventuality. The baptized children now found that the seal had become to them not a confirmation of something they already did possess, but an obligation to something which they ought to have. It appeared to them as a demand laid upon them that they respond somehow, that they do that which was expected of them, that they avail themselves of the store of grace which had been set aside for them at their birth. Slowly the theory of baptism, as it applied to the children, was further reshaped; more and more they were told that they must justify a presupposition, that they must prove that baptism had not been bestowed upon them in vain; they were called upon to act like saints whether or not they felt they were, in order not to let down the Bible Commonwealth. The fact that they had been baptized was made a prod, a stimulus, an incentive to their endeavoring to achieve a holy state.

Once again the theologians took pains to remain consistent, at least in theory, with the basic principles of their doctrine. They explained again and again that they were not employing the sacrament to bring the children to a state of grace, because only God could do that by His own free election; but these children already were in a state of grace. Their conversion, Cotton argued, was itself given them by the covenant, so that they were "under the Covenant before their conversion, and so before their faith, even by the faith of their parents." The children of saints, he said, do in appearance reverse the order of events, but not actually; they

" are not first converted, and so come under the Covenant, but are first under the Covenant, and so come to be converted." [17] The sacrament is therefore given to them, not to begin their faith, but to aid them in showing it, to assist them in bringing it to overt expression. And what, they might very well ask, is this, if not the confirmation of faith already possessed?

The logic of this argument may be open to serious challenge; I am not, of course, endeavoring either to defend or condemn it. I wish to indicate merely that by such deductions the ministers, while maintaining a theoretical consistency, were enabled to use the sacrament of baptism, not quite as a cause of faith, but as a very helpful instrument in drawing it out, though in ordinary life this might amount, for all intents and purposes, to almost the same thing. Thomas Hooker defined the sacrament as it had come to be understood in New England by saying that it was both the sign and seal of grace, and also the " exhibitive instrument of the increase of grace " [18]—not the cause but the instrument, not that which creates but that which exhibits, not that which engenders but that which increases. Used in this sense, upon a select group for whom the existence of faith could be legitimately predicated, although there might be no evidence for it in many individual cases, the baptismal covenant could be held to entail an active response or an ability to respond. By this logic no violence was done to the doctrine of predestination, because these persons were supposedly among the elect. Hence the baptized children, as they came of age, were told that it was now up to them to make good their opportunity. A man may receive benefit by the sacrament, said Cotton, but he must exert himself to seize upon it; the parents had been brought to the sacrament by an irresistible power of the Holy Spirit, the children must seek the Spirit in the sacrament. " He cannot say that ever he received benefit from his Baptisme, unlesse he search what it is that God offers him in it, and what duties God calls for of him in regard of it." [19]

[17] *The Grounds and Ends*, 28-29.
[18] *A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline* (London, 1648), Pt. I, 58.
[19] *The Way of Life* (London, 1641), 377-8.

Thus, in spite of the theology of Calvinism, indeed in an apparently logical conformity to the doctrine of strict predestination, a certain efficacy, a certain power or force was read into the rite of baptism. If it was not itself the beginning of faith, it could serve to bring certain people to faith. It was, as the ministers said, a "means." And as they proceeded to describe its function, we can see just how subtly and yet how completely they had shifted their interpretation from downright Calvinism. For instance, they said, baptism serves as a means of perfecting faith because it commits the child to the right sort of education. When the parent has his child baptized, the parent knows, says Cotton, that the child is really admitted into the family of God, though there still is lacking the child's own consent; "therefore he so trains it up, as that it may not fail of its consent in due time." [20] In other words, the parents make every effort to train their children in the correct doctrine and in the life of holiness, but they need never fear that the resulting state of grace is really produced by their teaching. If the education which the children received were in any sense the efficient cause of their becoming Christians, we should have to abandon education, for we should be presuming to bring souls to Christ by human agencies; but in these children the training is neither efficient nor material cause, it is simply a means whereby an antecedent faith is nurtured into profession. At the risk of appearing to state serious matters flippantly, we might comment that by this argument the Puritan ministers were able to achieve the most enviable of good fortunes, they were able to have their cake and eat it; they could maintain at every point that only the effectual call of God could bring a man to repentance, and yet were at liberty to labor with might and main to bring their own children to it, and to use the sacrament of baptism as an effectual instrument.

If they could carry their logic this far, there was nothing to prevent them going still one step further to insure the success of the sacrament as an evangelical instrument. Those children who did not respond to their baptismal obligation, who stubbornly re-

[20] *Ibid.*, 388.

sisted the effect of a Christian education, could be held to have only themselves to blame. Adults who came into the church for the first time by a mature conversion might be said to be propelled by irresistible grace; but children whom God intended to bring into the church through the aid of the means—who were, as one minister put it, "to bee inserted by a way of nature" [21]—might conceivably, out of sheer recalcitrancy, obstruct the channels of grace. Every incentive and exhortation might be brought to bear upon them, but if they still did not, or could not, manage to make a decent profession of faith and repentance, there could be only one conclusion: they themselves were resisting God. It cost the New England ministers considerable expense of ink and paper to prove that this deduction did not ultimately deny that grace is always irresistible, and I am not quite sure that they ever succeeded. But they thought they did, or were willing to think they did, and they proceeded thereupon to tell the children that those who did not make good their baptism brought destruction upon themselves. The efficacy of baptism may be hindered, Thomas Hooker said, "by the unworthiness of the receiver." [22] I think that when the ministers had reached this goal, whatever dialectical routes they had followed, they were prepared to use baptism in substantially the same ways that it had served in historic sacramental theory, even though they were still maintaining that all faith comes directly from the grace of God and is imparted to men regardless of any ecclesiastical ceremonies.

The melancholy fact remains to be recorded, however, that this ingenious extension of the theory of baptism was not after all sufficient to obtain the ends for which it was designed. However much the baptismal covenant might be used as an incentive to bring the children to making such spontaneous professions as their parents had poured forth, too many were still unable to do it. As I have already remarked, in the terms in which we interpret history we may be quite prepared to explain that the spiritually placid life of late seventeenth-century New England could not arouse men to that pitch of enthusiasm which the founders had attained in an

[21] Cobbet, *Just Vindication*, 163. [22] Hooker, *Survey*, Pt. I, 57.

era of intense religious strife. As the founders beheld the order which they had erected falling into the hands of those so much less rapt than themselves, they made heroic efforts to bring that to pass which by their own dogma could be wrought only by the action of God. In the middle of the century the ministers drew up a sort of compromise arrangement, known as the Half-Way Covenant, whereby it was agreed that the baptized children of good behaviour who were still unable to make a satisfactory relation of religious experience should be continued as members of the churches, that they might be permitted to present their own children in turn for baptism but should still be excluded from the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But by the beginning of the eighteenth century the grounds upon which the children and grand-children and even great grand-children had been retained in the churches, the contention that they were members because they were in convenant with God and were among the elect even though they did not receive the visible experience of regeneration—these grounds became increasingly theoretical. By 1719 Cotton Mather tells us that the ministers were frequently accepting all persons of good behaviour into the church and giving them baptism in the fond hope that it might be an inducement to them to seek regeneration.[23]

The second sacrament, the Lord's Supper, was maintained somewhat longer in its original form. Even after the churches had agreed to admit as members baptized children, even though they did not achieve the ability to make a confession, a vigorous attempt was made to safeguard the Communion and to admit to it only those who first made a satisfactory relation. Until the end of the century there was no yielding on this point, and the Lord's Supper remained a sacrament awarded only after the candidate had offered proof that he was in a state of grace. But when the sacrament of baptism was being changed into a "means," transformed into an inducement, an aid, and a provocation to the securing of faith, retention of the original theory of the Communion became more and more difficult. The wonder is that it stood as long as it did. At the end of the century a minister in the Connecticut valley was

[23] *Ratio Disciplinae* (Boston, 1726), 80.

at last courageous enough to take the definite step of transforming the Lord's Supper as well as baptism. Solomon Stoddard, pastor at Northampton from 1672 to 1729, is chiefly known to fame as the grandfather of Jonathan Edwards. In his day he was something of a firebrand in the New England churches, for he was the first to assert and to practice that from which other ministers had shrunk. He argued that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is a converting ordinance, that it was instituted "for all the adult members of the Church who are not scandalous," that no man should neglect it because he has not yet received grace.[24] Consequently he abandoned the selective principle and invited all persons in Northampton—all persons "not scandalous"—to partake of the sacrament, because "if men come to Christ, they shall be Saved."[25]

With the conclusions of Stoddard the wheel had come full circle in New England. His view of the sacraments is completely at variance with that of the founders of New England, though they themselves in their explanations of baptism had started the line of thought of which Stoddard was the logical outcome. He reverted to the traditional interpretation of the sacraments in so far as he claimed that they have a power in their own nature to effect conversion. If this narrative were to be viewed as merely the story of a peculiar and local issue in New England, it would have at best but a sort of antiquarian interest. But the issues at stake were important and ancient ones. The Puritans were struggling with a problem as old, I dare say, as the history of Christianity, the problem of reconciling the spirit and the world. They had been confident, perhaps rashly but certainly sincerely, that in a new world they would erect an order in which the ideal of holiness should be completely realized in the visible church. They had assumed that men would not need the aid of ceremonies in order to maintain the ideal. They expected that the inward zeal of the saints would perpetuate their churches, and that sacraments therefore need be regarded as nothing more than external emblems of

[24] *The Doctrine of Instituted Churches* (London, 1700), 21.
[25] *An Appeal to the Learned* (Boston, 1709), 25.

a never failing presence of the spirit. At the first sign of faltering, the ministers betrayed the reasons for their laboring to extend the theory of baptism: John Cotton exhorted the children that, having been washed already in the spirit of grace, they have "an engagement to unity with the Church." [26] That the visible church might not be utterly lost if the original vision languished, the ministers had to revise their theory of the sacraments, and were compelled to attribute to them more and more efficacy as the agencies, and ultimately as the causes, of faith in the spirits of men.

PERRY MILLER.

[26] *A Briefe Exposition with practicall observations upon the whole book of Ecclesiastes* (London, 1655), 196.

MISCELLANY

I

A NEW PROGRAM FOR CATHOLIC HISTORIANS*

A proposal to discuss a new program for Catholic historians may meet the objection: Have Catholics as Catholics a program for history? Is not history one of those universal techniques in which Catholic or Hindu, Protestant or Hebrew, Chinese or Italian, English or Ethiopian lose all identifying differences and become solely historians? Is not history a scientific art, or an artistic science, if one prefers it thus? Is not the skillful and expert marshalling of the facts which make up the recorded actions of men in society, an objective, detached task, calling only for intelligence, specific training, and intellectual integrity, surely the monopoly of no particular group?

For professional historians to raise the question is to answer it. All recognize that "the skillful and expert marshalling of facts" is not possible without a philosophy of man, a philosophy of life, and a philosophy of history. Hence it is not to be expected that Catholics who hold such clear, distinct, and definite ideas on the two first philosophies should not also hold equally clear and definite views on the third.

Taking the Church in its widest extension as *ecclesia*—a society for all men whomsoever—all history may be said to be Church history. In a more strict sense it is also true; for, the Church as a divine institution, destined in the mind of God from all eternity to be the Bride of His Son, has affected directly or indirectly all the events of human history; and without consideration of her influence it is not possible to write intelligible history. However, it is not so much from this angle that I wish to present the ideas for a program for Catholic historians. I think we are in agreement that Catholics have and should have a program for history. The content of this will vary from age to age as the problems resolve themselves into the issues of the time; and so today I confine the presentation to the peculiar needs of our own day. Thus I select for the general aim of the discussion:

A. To re-examine and re-orientate the field for Catholic historians with a view to furnishing both the background of, and the key to, the great social documents of the papacy from Pius IX to Pius XI. Some of these documents, so admirable in their wisdom and so uniquely significant, are

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being widely discussed but not always with comprehension. Frequently the point is entirely missed. I am of the opinion that this can be traced to a lack of historical understanding due to the inaccurately written history at the disposal of those who discuss them.

These documents when taken together form an organic whole, the nature of which is not intelligible unless one grasps the character of the circumstances and the particular issues which led the popes to utter them. They deal with problems which are quite old because rooted in human nature and human action, but their point and force derive from the issues which the men and events of the nineteenth century were creating. Hence they are not proposals for specific reforms, they are not even criticisms of existing specific institutions, nor are they plans for any particular society. There can be no comparison between what they set forth and a particular plan like the Corporate State or the N. R. A. for example. Still less are they policies to be compared with National Socialism or Communism. The very English title of the *Quadragesimo Anno* conveys this truth. *On Reconstructing the Social Order* is a running commentary on society for the use of those doing the reconstructing, whether as planners or followers, reminding them of certain essential fundamental principles, warning them of certain fundamental errors, and giving them the key to interpret any one of our social orders existing today. Furthermore, as these essential principles are fundamentally important they are universally true and so can be applied to past ages as well. These comments are basic and not specific, but all the essential ideas are there. I may illustrate. The question is frequently raised: May Catholics be socialists or liberals? The pope in the *Quadragesimo Anno* points out the line of the answer. He does not quibble over words nor pause to distinguish between American Socialism or American Liberalism and Marxian Socialism and European Liberalism, but he does call attention to the fact that the fundamental, characteristic idea of socialism and liberalism is a denial of the supernatural order and an insistence upon the lay or secular order, however composed for national consumption. Neither is permitted to Catholics. He omits to note what his readers may, that many call themselves liberals and socialists who are not truly such, but so much more powerfully by this indirect method does he urge these people to define their terms and clarify their status. Also by this very point he sweeps aside as irrelevant the view that liberalism or socialism permits religious freedom to individuals in private. Unless these distinctions which the pontiffs are so much at pains to make clear, are thoroughly understood, reforms are inevitably lost in confusing compromises.

It is just these characteristic values of the encyclicals that so many of us find difficult to seize; and it is this fact which leads to so much sterile discussion rather than to fruitful applications of their principles to existing institutions. These sterile discussions will continue until the historians

bend their energies to the filling in of the historical background, illuminating the principles of the encyclicals in their concrete setting.

B. Hence the discussion here should lead to a committee which would decide on certain objectives of this aim which may be realized within the next two or three years. In preparation for this, I submit the following topics for discussion:

I. *Interpretation.* I select interpretation, first because today in our American secondary schools what passes for history is generalized interpretation, not facts, not even the narrative of events or topics. The importance of this trend cannot be overemphasized; for, the secondary schools affect the colleges and the colleges the university which in turn prepares the professors of history who write the books for the teachers in the secondary schools. The circle is thus completed. For Catholics this is most important and particularly for the clergy, because it is in these secondary schools, colleges, and universities that the intellectual atmosphere of the country is generated and in which today the Faith is being attenuated and lost. As an inkling of the proof of this I offer for consideration a typical syllabus in United States history. This history is divided into three periods:

1. The Frontier before the Factory, to 1830.
2. The Frontier and the Factory, 1830-1880.
3. The Factory without the Frontier, 1880—.

The Aims	*Objectives*	*Subject Matter*
To understand the influence of the physical environment.	Critical Attitude on Controversial Subjects, *e. g.*, slavery, finance.	Agriculture.
		Manufacturing
Problem of mass production.	Openminded-ness.	Labor Movement.
Rel. capital and Labor.	Suspended Judgment.	Transportation and Communication.
Social Control.	Toleration.	Finance and Tariff.
	Social Welfare.	Composition and Distribution of Population.
Acceleration of change.		
International Trade.		Social Control.

Much of this is not history at all; the best that can be said of it is that it is a description of certain things which may be observed in the United States. If there is any underlying philosophy, it is that social life is a parallelogram of forces seeking an equilibrium between environment and mechanized industry and that man finds his contentment in adjusting himself to this equilibrium.

As a sample of the interpretations of objectives noted above, I submit: tolerance is defined as the permitting and welcoming a belief differing

from that of the majority, and intolerance as a denial of free thought based on fear, self interest, or ignorance. Pope IX with his *Syllabus* is given as the classic example of scientific intolerance. He also appears in a recent syllabus on modern European history for use in secondary schools. The *Syllabus* is placed in the following setting

> Separation of Church and State as an Issue in the 19th century.
> Attempt of Pius IX to regain prestige.
>
> 1. Syllabus of Errors.
> 2. Doctrine of Papal Infallibility, Immaculate Conception.
> 3. Formation of clerical parties in various countries.

Under the heading "Relations of State and Church as an issue in national politics," is placed as an example: "Reactionary clergy in Mexico fight against progressive democracy."

While these samples indicate to the historian the ignorance of the well-intentioned authors of the syllabi, to the Catholic they speak of the necessity and indeed of the duty of bringing to the attention of the American public the correct interpretation of the historical setting in which the Church, which is not only for the professed Catholic but for all the world, operates and has its earthly life. I may note that if and when Catholics protest some of the more glaring misinterpretations in current syllabi, the correction is not made but the offending article is merely dropped from the active list.

Furthermore, the actual teaching of the history frequently prescinds from everything but the objectives noted above—openmindedness, critical attitude, suspended judgment, toleration, and social welfare. With such attenuated history as I have indicated, how can a critical attitude be developed? And how indeed can American Catholics and non-Catholic alike (for remember many thousands of our Catholics are daily submitted to these influences), educated along these lines be expected to understand the encyclicals of the popes?

Such considerations urge me to stress the fact that the great task before the Catholic historian in the United States today is to delimit once again for our generation the field of history, to remove it from the entanglements of philanthropy, social service, psychology, and economics, and to relate it once more to its specific and proper milieu—man. We must write it and teach it from the standpoint that history is the record of the actions of men in society, and hence when we study history we study the men and the ideas which have had an influence on events. For this it is necessary to have a philosophy of history, *i. e.*, a series of norms by which a period, an age or a leader, can be evaluated and which also may be used as a basis for organizing the material interpreted from the standpoint of a Catholic philosophy of life. This of course implies that neither history nor a philosophy of history is possible without a proper understanding of man.

It is man who is the historical being, but how often he is left out of the picture! It is man who when properly viewed gives the understanding and key to history. But it is only in Catholic philosophy that we learn to know man as he is, to grasp the three significant things about him which create history; as man he has a human nature, fundamentally the same for all, and this gives unity to history; he is an individual, and individuals compose society; he is a person and it is in society that it is ordained that he must attain to the full and proper measure of his personality. These are the facts which underlie any reconstruction of an historical event if it is to have any validity. Also these are the guiding principles for interpreting it and for evaluating society, and the setting for the event, so that we may understand its constituent elements, perceive its evils and secure its reforms.

The historian must enable us to answer these questions:

1. Is the social order in accordance with what is demanded by human nature as well as by nature?
2. Is the individual considered as the constituent element of society and not as something moulded and indeed created by society?
3. Do the conditions of society enable man to develop his personality, the norm for the perfection of which has been set for all time, not alone in the provisions of the natural law, but also in the positive commandments of the New Law: Love thy neighbor as thyself and be thyself perfect as Thy Heavenly Father is perfect?

In fact it is in this development of personality that progress consists both for the individual man and the society of which he is a part. But for society this progress is strung along the thread of tradition since human nature is fundamentally the same at all periods. Tradition, however, as recorded by the historian can be true or false and it then becomes the function of the Catholic historian in particular to keep clear the line of development down the ages, to guard against the view that man is radically vicious or that on the other hand he can fend for himself and achieve perfection unaided. The study of history reveals that man left to himself cannot reconcile the conflict of his spiritual and material nature. In other words, the spiritualization of the whole of man's nature, uniting the life of the body with the life of the spirit in the service of a common end, constitutes progress. This is the specifically Catholic life and in the course of it man becomes a new creature. This new life and this new creature is the function, one might say, of Jesus Christ, the Risen Christ and King, and accordingly as He is accepted or rejected, progress continues or ceases. This is the contribution of the Catholic philosophy of history, and history to be true history must be written from this point of view, seeing in all the vast panorama of historical events this action of the Divine.

II. *Research.* The second topic I present for discussion is the question of research. We need:

a. Original research in many fields, *e. g.,* Spain, Hispanic-America, religion in the United States.

b. Evaluation of the secondary sources forming the modern mind. A good project here would be for some M. A. candidate to take several of the texts in common use in our secondary schools and colleges and select the inaccurate interpretations, paralleling them with correct statements from the professional historians or from the documents, so as to inform the public and safeguard it.[1] This would also be an introduction to the highly important task of preparing critical bibliographies for the use of busy teachers.

c. Historical treatment of certain outstanding problems of today, such as the function of money, the function of the State, the function of the family, the values of the Church in her social influences.

III. *Responsibility of the Catholic Historian.* Lastly, as Catholics we know what it is that makes for perfection in man. We know the individual and social values of virtue. We know that in man there is the love of God and the love of self and that the life of the Church offers the only hope to save man from the ruin in which the love of self inevitably ends. The life of the Church offering this remedy reforms the social order. We know all this; but as Catholics we must so write history as to bring out the evidences, each generation offering its fresh tribute, of how slowly but gradually the supernatural order interpenetrates the natural, as Christopher Dawson so finely puts it.

This in last analysis is the responsibility of the Catholic historian:

a. To supply the key to contemporary problems, keeping in mind that the problems are old, because rooted in human nature and human events, but the issues are special and vary. The historian deals with these issues.

b. To keep before the contemporary mind certain great truths:

1. That history is the record of the actions of men in society as they

[1] Doubtless, many of the members of the Association have seen the privately printed (and for several years strictly confidential) survey of the histories used in the London County Council schools, made by the Westminster Catholic Federation—*Historical Text Books and Readers* (London, 1927, pp. 1138) with a supplementary volume (London, 1928, pp. 1149-1510). The Federation's correspondence with the publishers is highly enlightening. For example, one of the foremost officials in the British empire today wrote at that time: "These books are intended for schools where the atmosphere is predominantly Protestant." The correspondence with fifteen publishers in these two volumes develops this point of new.

advance towards God or turn away from Him, which is to say that we must desecularize history. This is a big task and calls for many sacrifices, not the least of which will be the sacrifice of fame. For, as it has been pointed out by a keen observer of the American scene, the persecution under which the Church in the United States suffers is the persecution of silence. We shall have to force our hearing by the persistence of truth.

2. That the coming of Our Lord was a turning point in the history of mankind. All history before Him foreshadows His influence and all history after Him reveals it.

3. That since His life, the distinctions between secular history, natural forces, and ecclesiastical history are artificial divisions of the text books; that all history must be viewed in the light of divine love and divine providence as the expression of that love. It was divine love that prompted God to create this world with its sequence of events. He made it very beautiful for the creature whom He was to possess and who was to possess Him. Hence His providence never fails to protect this frail creature from himself. God is the dynamic principle of history, and as M. Blondel points out, to think is to think God, to act is to seek God. All history reveals Him and unless we write history and teach history as a kind of contemplation, are we Catholics, are we even historians?

MARIE R. MADDEN.

II

JOHN E. ROTHENSTEINER

The Right Reverend Monsignor John E. Rothensteiner, historian of the Archdiocese of Saint Louis, died at his home on Saturday morning, September 26, 1936, at the age of 76 years.

Born in Saint Louis on January 21, 1860, John Rothensteiner was taken to Germany by his parents when two years old and remained there until the age of five, when the family returned to the United States. His early education was obtained in Saint Louis and his classical, philosophical and theological studies were made at Saint Francis Seminary, Milwaukee. Ordained to the priesthood by Bishop Patrick John Ryan, then coadjutor of Saint Louis, Father Rothensteiner served for a few years in various parishes of the archdiocese and in 1887, was appointed pastor of Saint Michael's parish, Fredericktown, where he labored for twenty years. In May, 1907, he was appointed to the pastorate of Holy Ghost Church, Saint Louis, where he remained until his death.

Monsignor Rothensteiner was a model pastor, and during his administration of Holy Ghost Parish succeeded in building a church, a school and a rectory. Yet during all these years he was successful in keeping alive

his love of books and of scholarship. His splendid library of 16,000 volumes manifests one aspect of his life-long devotion to scholarship.

To students of American church history he was best known as the author of the monumental *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis,* in two volumes, published in 1928. Yet it may well be that posterity will consider as his greatest contribution to letters his exquisite translations of German poems which received distinguished praise in the world of literary scholarship. His *Die Literarische Wirksamkeit der Deutsch-Katholiken Amerikas* still remains, if the writer is not mistaken, the only account of the literary and political productions of German Catholic authors in the United States. A volume of selections from his three volumes of German verse, edited by Bruder Willram, was published at Innsbruck in 1924, under the title *John Rothensteiner der deutschamerikanische Priestersänger.* His contributions to the Catholic press, particularly to the *Herold des Glaubens,* the *Pastoral Blatt, Amerika* and the *Church Progress* were extensive and of consistently high quality.

Monsignor Rothensteiner's more intensive labors in the field of history may be said to have commenced with the establishment in 1915, by the Catholic Union of Missouri, of an historical commission for the study of the history of the German Catholics of Missouri, an objective later enlarged to include the general Catholic history of Missouri, irrespective of national origins. Monsignor Rothensteiner was a member of this commission.

The Catholic Union project however failed to enlist interest and in February, 1917, Archbishop Glennon of Saint Louis founded the Catholic Historical Society of Saint Louis, with a field of investigation coterminous with Bishop Du Bourg's old Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas.

At about this time Monsignor Rothensteiner and the late distinguished scholar, Monsignor Frederick G. Holweck, succeeded in locating and classifying the extensive diocesan collection of documentary material dating from the administration of Bishop Rosati. The vicissitudes of these archives is a most interesting story. They had been carefully preserved and even added to by a former chancellor of the archdiocese, Monsignor Henry Van der Sanden. Van der Sanden had intended them to comprise the source from which he would compile the history of the archdiocese which he had long contemplated. But the duties of office left him no opportunity, and when he retired from the chancery and went to reside at one of the local hospitals the archives went with him. At his death the archives went to the basement where they were most fortunately preserved until located by Monsignors Rothensteiner and Holweck.

The discovery of this collection made possible a history worthy of the great rôle of the Diocese of Saint Louis in the growth of the Church in the American West. Four outstanding scholars arose to the task. Two

of them, Monsignors Rothensteiner and Holweck, are now dead. The other two, Rev. Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., Ph.D., and the Most Rev. Charles L. Souvay, C.M., D.D., have been called by obedience to other duties. The establishment of the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review* provided a medium for the publication of the researches of these and other scholars and almost immediately took its place among the leading Catholic historical quarterlies of the land.

In June, 1925, after the preliminary studies were sufficiently advanced, Monsignor Rothensteiner was commissioned to write the history of the archdiocese. The task facing him was prodigious. He had already passed the age of sixty-five, and he was carrying on a heavy building project in his parish. The field was immense and uncharted. "From June 6, 1925," he wrote later, "when I received the commission to write the history of the Archdiocese of St. Louis until June 5, 1928, when the two massive volumes of the work were nearing completion, I labored most strenuously, by day and far into the night, gathering, sifting, coördinating and writing down, with the one supreme purpose of giving a true, clear and exhaustive account of the work of God done by men and women, bishops, priests and laymen, in the vast territory of the Mississippi Valley." The completed work stands as an eloquent testimony to his diligence and devotedness of purpose.

This monumental work is Monsignor Rothensteiner's greatest but not his only contribution to American Church history. In the prosecution of his preliminary studies he managed to contribute a number of scholarly articles to three contemporary Catholic historical quarterlies, the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review,* the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* and the *Catholic Historical Review.* These studies were of a more detailed and exhaustive nature than the limits of space permitted him later to incorporate into the history of the archdiocese. They remain of permanent importance to the student of Catholic origins in the West. A small volume entitled *The Chronicles of an Old Mission Parish* comprises the history of his beloved former parish at Fredericktown. A booklet, *A Sketch of Catholic Journalism in St. Louis,* resurrected the story of what was with one possible exception the first Catholic paper in the West, *The Shepherd of the Valley,* founded in St. Louis in 1832.

THOMAS F. O'CONNOR.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Catholic Philosophy of History. [Papers of the American Catholic Historical Association. Vol. III.] Edited by PETER GUILDAY. With an introduction by Ross J. S. Hoffman. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1936. Pp. xiv, 270. $3.00.)

This third volume in the series of selected essays given at the annual meetings of the American Catholic Historical Association comprises seven of the papers read at the fourteenth annual meeting held at Pittsburgh in 1933. Readers will recall that Volume I, issued in 1926, dealt with *Church Historians*; and that Volume II, issued in 1932, dealt with *The Church in Contemporary Europe: 1919-1931.* These two volumes form an appropriate prelude to the broad subject indicated in the present volume, whose title intimates the need for a proper orientation of history as it is to be assessed by religious-minded readers. The present volume is of special value to the large class of readers who are not professed historians and whose leisure moments naturally seek instruction and entertainment in the English tongue. The editor accordingly remarks in his foreword: "Due to the paucity of works in English on the Catholic philosophy of history it is anticipated that this volume will be widely read." It is a just expectation, because the thoughtful mind naturally aims to rationalize not alone the present status of the life it leads but as well the whole preceding life of mankind of which it is, consciously or unconsciously, the existing heir.

Wordsworth's view that "The child is father of the man" could well be applied to past history, since the past is the father of the present in such wise that the well-nigh innumerable problems and difficulties confronting the present are heirlooms, in many varied types, handed down to us from even the most-distant past. While "the man in the street" attempts some sort of rationalization of his many problems, he most probably fails to widen his horizons, and he thus contemplates only the yesterdays of his own life or those of his own family. On the other hand, "the scholar in his pensive citadel" is also sorely handicapped by the apparently illogical concatenation of events in the long past of the human race. What is the real *fons et origo* of the dishearteningly confused patterns of our lives? Wherein lies the true philosophy of history?

In his introduction to the present volume, Professor Hoffman remarks: "Ever since Voltaire coined the term 'philosophy of history' to designate what those words do not properly mean that term has received much loose and inaccurate usage." He points out the true meaning and adds: "The thing has indeed a bad record in the intellectual history of the past few hundred years. The eighteenth century philosophers and their romantic reactionary opponents were much given to the pursuit of it and produced

almost unnumbered 'philosophies of history,' all of which were, in some measure at least, attempts at violence upon historical truth; that is, efforts to endow history with some favorite meaning, rather than to elicit by humble objective study what truths the mind could receive from history." The admirable introduction should be read thoughtfully, slowly; for it is a summary of the lessons to be learned from the following papers.

The seven papers in the present volume will enable the reader to place the true, the *Catholic*, philosophy of history in an appropriate setting. In the first paper, Bishop Schrembs begins his thesis by citing recent declarations (which might well be deemed "defeatist" views) of two scientists: "Civilization, they said, makes the next war inevitable; the progress of civilization, they added, will not bring an end to wars, but only bigger and more terrible wars. Here we have a sad illustration of modern philosophy in relation to man's history. Their statements lend importance to the question: Has the history of mankind a meaning?" He points out that

> the various systems of pantheism and materialism agree in repecting the reality of a personal God creating and directing the universe. Under such a system of thought history becomes a chaos, a disorderly succession of meaningless movements, an empty and tumultous agitation. In the light of the supernatural, however, everything becomes purposeful. . . . History must be defined in terms of men, their origin, life and destiny. History is the realization of a great divine plan, a vast supernatural process, more God's than man's.

He develops this thesis at some length, meanwhile allowing for other scientific appraisals of history, provided they recognize the superior, the all-enveloping, supernatural purpose and destiny of life.

The succeeding six papers deal chronologically with various Catholic attempts at the proper rationalization of history. Felix Fellner, O. S. B., M. A., discusses "The *Two Cities* of Otto of Freising and its Influence on the Catholic Philosophy of History," one of the most prominent of the many medieval treatises which regard the human race as a unit, and comments that "while the medievalists may have at times sinned by attributing too much to the supernatural, the moderns offend often by granting to it too little. Christian ethics and the canons of true science demand a proportionate share as the subject itself dictates" (p. 46). Moorhouse F. X. Millar, S. J., Ph. D., writing on "Aquinas and the Missing Link in the Philosophy of History," notes that a "grave inadequacy" in the view of St. Augustine and his followers "did not escape St. Thomas. With the calm independence and clear-sighted originality that was so peculiarly his he set forth in definite terms the proper and necessary corrective" which he proceeds to quote (p. 95). Gerald Groveland Walsh, S. J., M. A. (Oxon.), copiously illustrates "Dante's Philosophy of History" as expounded principally in the *De Monarchia* and the *Paradiso:* "It need hardly be added

that in his Providential interpretation of history Dante always sees the Incarnation as the central point" (p. 128). Patrick J. Barry, Ph. D., treats of "Bossuet's *Discourse on Universal History*" and remarks: "The weakness of Bossuet's argument, from our present point of view, arises from the fact that religion must be considered to be far older than it was thought to be in Bossuet's day; and that it is beyond the powers of the historian as such to trace its continuity" (p. 167). Paul Christopher Perrotta, O. P., Ph. D., discusses the almost self-educated "Giambattista Vico: Philosopher-Historian," who, in the words of Father Millar, "already deprecated in his day" that "unnatural divorce between philosophy and science, and philosophy and history" which "still confronts us as, perhaps, the one outstanding intellectual problem of present times" (p. 96). Finally, the economist, Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, brings us down to our own day in his discussion of "Christian Thought and Economic Policy" (pp. 237-260). A closely-printed index of eighteen columns closes the book.

H. T. HENRY.

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Geschichte der Führenden Völker. Edited by HEINRICH FINKE, HERMANN JUNKER, and GUSTAV SCHNÜRER. Band 3: *Die Völker des Antiken Orients* (die Ägypter), von HERMANN JUNKER; *Die Babylonier, Assyrer, Perser und Phöniker*, von LOUIS DELAPORTE. Band 15: *Die Entwicklung Österreich-Ungarns zur Grossmacht*, von Dr. HUGO HANTSCH; *Der Aufstieg Brandenburg-Preussens, 1640 bis 1815*, von Dr. MAX BRAUBACH. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder and Co. 1933. Pp. ix, 353; viii, 382. $3.00 each.)

The editors of this Catholic cooperative enterprise, the History of the Leading Peoples, have been fortunate in securing eminent specialists for each of the thirty volumes of the series. Thus Hermann Junker, professor at the University of Vienna and head of the German Archeological Institute in Cairo, is well qualified to introduce the general reader to his special subject, the history of the ancient Egyptians. After an introductory chapter on the findings of the prehistorians, he unfolds before us the cultural and political growth of the Nile kingdom from its beginnings—about 3500 B. C.—to the definite loss of its independence and its incorporation into the Persian empire in 529 B. C. Three chapters are devoted to the Ancient Kingdom, the builders of the pyramids, their culture and religion. Two chapters treat the Middle Kingdom, interrupted by the foreign domination of the Hyksos, who according to Professor Junker are not purely semitic but a mixed race. Three chapters sketch the history of the Third Kingdom with its expansion outward into Ethiopia and eastward into Syrian,

Arabian, and Mesopotamian territories. They give a graphic description of the splendid artistic development under Rameses the Great and, later on, under Psamtik; of the far-flung trade on the Mediterranean and Red Sea, of the wonderful technical skill of the Egyptian workers, of the literary and religious ideas of the age. The decline which set in about 1100 B. C., according to the author, was due to the failure of assimilating the conquered peoples to the gradual diminution of the original stock of the population and the consequent growth of influence of an alien element. The overthrow of the Pharaohs by the warlike Persians seems to have been a relatively easy task.

The permanent significance of Egyptian history and civilization is thus summed up by the author: The Egyptians never recovered their lost independence, yet they impressed their conquerors by their peculiar and superior culture. Persian kings, Greek Ptolemies, and Roman emperors posed as successors of the Pharaohs and built temples in the traditional style; Greek travelers visited the country and wrote of it admiringly; Egyptian religious ideas gained considerable influence on the minds of the Mediterranean peoples, and, at a later period, entered upon a veritable triumphal progress through the length and breadth of the Roman Empire.

Louis Delaporte, Professor at the Institut Catholique in Paris and one of the curators of the treasures of the Louvre, has been entrusted with the account of the civilized peoples of western Asia (with the exception of the Hebrews to whom a special volume has been reserved). Previous studies on the culture of ancient Mesopotamia and on the oriental cylinders preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale prove his competence in this field. In the 180 pages allotted to him he introduces the educated public to our present knowledge of these remote peoples, the Sumerians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Persians, and Phoenicians. In short paragraphs we are made acquainted with the Sumerians, their probable origin, their primitive beginnings in manufacture and trade, their political organization, their art and religion. The dynasties of Ur, their military achievements, their legislation, the economic and social life of their subjects are succinctly described in two chapters. When treating the Assyrian empire something like a connected narrative is made possible by the character of the sources. Its barbarous militarism and the inhuman character of its conquering expeditions get brief notices, but also its legal institutions, its system of family and property contracts, and its penal code. The account of the later Babylonian empire with its artistic activities, the advanced character of its political and economic administration, its mathematical and astronomical discoveries are perhaps the most interesting chapter. Many readers will find the chronological tables given in an appendix most valuable. Reaching back to antediluvian eras they are of course partly conjectural, but they embody the best results of modern research in this difficult and highly specialized field.

One might wish that the account were a little more unified and connected. Some chapters leave the impression of a mere juxtaposition of disjointed paragraphs. The readers for which the series is intended would probably appreciate a short summary of those traits of these nations treated which have noticeably influenced subsequent civilizations and have merited for them a place in a History of Leading Peoples.

The rôle of the Phoenicians is more clearly brought out. In the opinion of the author they seem to have a fixed place in history. Though further researches may bring surprises, they appear to us as the indefatigable intermediaries between the peoples of the Mediterranean coast, as courageous explorers of the Atlantic coast of Europe and Africa. They greatly facilitated every kind of intercourse and exchange between the orient and the occident.

The two authors are specialists in the field of oriental history and it is for specialists to judge of the accuracy of detail.

The Development of Austria-Hungary into a Great Power is the title given to his contribution by Dr. Hugo Hantsch, professor at the University of Vienna and a monk of the famous Benedictine abbey of Melk. He traces the vicissitudes of the Dual Monarchy from the beginnings of the East March in the tenth century to 1815 when it emerged strengthened and respected from the tangled negotiations of the congress of Vienna. Its decline in the nineteenth century and its complete dissolution after the World War are outside the scope of this work, but the consciousness of it sometimes colors the language of the author and lends a tragic note to many a page. Dr. Hantsch indulges in no illusions about the future; "The Austro-Hungarian monarchy is only an historical memory. It will never revive in the form in which it perished in 1918," is his considered opinion. Geographically and economically it formed a natural and beautiful unit, but its racial composition in an age of riotous nationalism was bound to have disastrous effects. In the 160 pages allotted to him it was of course impossible for the author to illustrate the various phases in the growth of this unique political structure by much detail, but the main currents of events and above all their true import are clearly brought out. We get a brief sketch of the beginnings as the Eastern March, the outpost of the Holy Roman Empire against what was then eastern barbarism. We see the coming of the Habsburgs, the successors of the Babenbergers and the successful rivals of the Premyslides. Then comes the temporary decline under the Luxemburg emperors. Under Maximilian I, Charles V, and Ferdinand I territorial dominion of the Habsburgs reached its height. The Thirty Years' War weakened their imperial power but strengthened their hold on their hereditary lands. The last years of the seventeenth century and the first decade of the eighteenth might be called the golden age of the Habsburgs. They effectively checked the ambition of Louis XIV and became the shield of Christendom against the Turkish hordes. With the

disappearance of the Spanish line began the concentration of their energies on their crown lands, a tendency which received additional impulses from the loss of their Italian domains and the disasters of the Seven Years' War. The policies of Maria Theresa and her two successors were those of purely Austro-Hungarian rulers. They forgot the Empire, but the Empire had forgotten them long before. Once more during the Napoleonic era Austria was called upon to play a European part and in general acquitted herself splendidly. The genius of Metternich led her out of the welter of this period apparently stronger than ever.

All these currents and cross currents are sketched with a steady hand, with a clear grasp of essentials by one who is evidently at home in the maze of eastern and central European history. The story remains, however, for the most part, purely political. Lack of space makes it necessary. Yet one regrets that nothing could be said of the art and culture of seventeenth and eighteenth century Austria and in particular of Vienna as the home of that typically Danubian art, so deeply rooted in the soil yet so open to southern and western influences. Nowhere in German lands was baroque architecture more at home than along the Danube. And the Vienna of Maria Theresa and of Metternich was the home of the creations of Beethoven, Haydn, Mozart, and Schubert. The bibliography is carefully and impartially selected. Slavic and Magyar works are not neglected.

The story of the rise of Brandenburg-Prussia from obscurity to leadership occupies the second half of the volume. It is the story of the Hohenzollern house, the successful rivals of the Habsburgs. The growth of the former usually means the decline of the latter. Yet despite the manifest inferiority of the military and political machinery of the aging Dual Monarchy, one instinctively prefers the culture of Vienna to the smoothly working bureaucracy of Berlin. The account opens with the reign of the Great Elector and his successful participation in the Thirty Years' War. But naturally the greater part of the narrative is devoted to the meteoric career of Frederick the Great. It is a well balanced and circumspect account. The author freely acknowledges the genius of Frederick but is by no means blind to his limitations and faults. Among the latter his Ruhmsucht, craving for personal glory and a great name with posterity, plays no small part in his political life. When in 1806, twenty years after Frederick's death, Prussia experienced the humiliation of Jena and Auerstädt, there were many who saw in the reign of Old Fritz the deeper causes of the catastrophe. Even the great patriot Hardenberg bitterly complained that "he had made his own greatness and his renown with posterity his exclusive aim, that he despised men and made them machines. Routine and mechanical performance became the ideals of public service." A particularly enlightening chapter speaks of the decline after Frederick which made it so easy for the Napoleonic thunderbolts to shatter the machine built up by the great king. The last chapter treats the reforms of Stein

and Hardenberg and the popular resurgence both of which enabled the small state to play such an important part in the overthrow of the Corsican.

In conclusion the author expresses the view that the Hohenzollern hardly ever consciously served the cause of the German people. Their rise was anything but a national matter. Yet in view of the steadily weakening imperial power, their policy of extending their own power and authority becomes intelligible and, historically speaking, unavoidable. Using the Hohenzollern state as a basis, Bismarck at a later period was able to create a smaller but more compact empire which put an end to traditional particularism and national dissolution. One can agree with this without being a wholehearted admirer of either Frederick or Bismarck.

ALFRED KAUFMANN, S. J.

Creighton University.

The Lives of the Saints. Originally Compiled by the Rev. Alban Butler. New Edition, Revised, and Copiously Supplemented by HERBERT THURSTON, S. J., and DONALD ATTWATER. Vol. X: *October.* (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne, Ltd. 1936. Pp. xii, 390.)

The admirably edited series of twelve volumes is rapidly nearing completion. When the volume for May, issued in the latter part of 1936, was noticed in this REVIEW (October, 1936, p. 330), attention was called to the fact that the series has not been appearing in the chronological order of the months, but rather as soon as the varied labors (divided in character) of the editors should permit. In the highly informative preface to the present volume we find this interestingly critical statement: "When Alban Butler completed his *Lives of the Saints*, none of the [thirteen folio] October volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* had yet appeared. He had therefore no help from this quarter in making his selection of the names to be included. He might perhaps in some cases have made a better choice than the martyrologium saints whose story is often legendary, not to say mythical, but he had to be content with the materials at hand. What was eventually printed was an unusually stout volume, including in the footnotes biographies of such eminent Christians as Father Louis of Granada, King Alfred the Great, and Baron de Renty, together with a number of dissertations on miscellaneous subjects, for which unfortunately, as elsewhere in this new edition, no room can be found." It was therefore necessary to compress Butler's text. Nevertheless, "the standing in popular estimation of the revered names of many of the saints" of October demanded generous space in the new edition, while room had also to be found for a number of additional saints; *e. g.*, "St. Teresa of the Infant Jesus, St. Margaret Mary Alacoque, St. Gerard Majella, St. Alexander Sauli, St. Alphonsus Rodriguez, St. Mary Francis of the Five Wounds, and a

crowd of *Beati*, among whom the Blessed Antony M. Claret, beatified in 1934, is treated in an appendix." Of the 189 saints thus biographically treated, 98 are additions to Butler's text, while other chapters are devoted to the feasts of the Holy Guardian Angels, the Holy Rosary, the Motherhood of Our Lady, St. Raphael the Archangel.

As in the preceding volumes, Father Thurston has added to the biographies his own learnedly critical and bibliographical notes. With respect to the bibliographical note appended to the account of St. Teresa of the Child Jesus, the present reviewer would like to have seen included a reference to the small but very interesting volume, *Novissima Verba* (giving the saint's replies made to questions and remarks during the closing weeks of her last illness), because the replies sum up, in a brief way, her considered outlook on asceticism. Again, Mr. Attwater might well have omitted the "Glorias" from his description of the Marian Rosary (p. 81), since they are not an essential portion of the Rosary (as the historical Lessons of the Divine Office of October 7 clearly indicate). Especially interesting is the appendix, in view of the current horrible events in Spain when the appendix was probably being bound in with the volume. The Bl. Antony Claret "was advised by Father Roothan, the Jesuit Father-General, to return to Spain and busy himself with the *evangelisation* of his countrymen." He followed this advice "and for ten years he was engaged in giving missions and retreats throughout *Catalonia*." I have ventured to confer italics on two words. Let us hope that the blood of the martyrs in Catalonia may ultimately prove fruitful as the seed of a renewed Faith, Hope, and Charity.

H. T. Henry.

The Catholic University of America.

Histoire de l'inquisition au moyen âge. Tome I: *Origines de l'inquisition dans le midi de la France: Cathares et Vaudois.* Par Jean Guiraud. (Paris: Picard. 1935. Pp. xlviii, 428.)

When it is still said that Henry Charles Lea's is "the most extensive, the most profound, and the most thorough history of the Inquisition which we possess," it is quite unnecessary for M. Guiraud to express the fear that it may seem presumptuous or idle to write anything more on the inquisition. The numerous excellent contributions already made by the distinguished author in this field are a guarantee of the solidity of the present work. This volume comprises the introduction to what will be a massive three-volume history of the mediaeval inquisition. As the sub-title indicates this introduction deals with the origins of the inquisition in southern France, especially with the heresies of the Cathari and Waldenses. Considerable portions of this volume have already appeared in Giraud's introduction to the *Cartulaire de Notre Dame de Prouille*, but few readers have ready access to the cartulary.

The present volume devotes thirty-eight introductory pages to a critical appreciation of the bibliography. In them the author takes pains to show the validity of his source material despite the fact that little remains of writings by the heretics themselves. One wonders why the *Summae* of refutations for the use of preachers against the heretics (*Sommes des autorités*) are treated so meagerly. They are drawn upon very heavily for the documentation of the volume, but the bibliography does not so much as date them. It is to be hoped that they will be dealt with more fully in the second volume, where the author promises a more detailed study of the manuals of the inquisitors. Ms. 609 of the Bibliothèque de Toulouse, quoted so frequently in the text, should also have been adequately discussed in the bibliography.

This first chapter is a brief survey of heresy throughout France in the twelfth century. It is less carefully done than the rest of the work. After having identified the heretic Henry who preached at Le Mans with the one whom St. Bernard combatted in the Midi, the author treats of Henry's later career in southern France. He subsequently takes up the activities of this preacher at Le Mans without any indication of his being the same character. The reasonable doubt raised by Vacandard (*Vie de St. Bernard*, II, 240) that Henry was condemned by a council at Rheims is quite ignored.

Rather frequently no reference is given to an edition of a work cited. Bertrand de Grandselve is quoted (p. 9) at length in translation without a reference; Mathew of Paris is cited (p. 23) without a reference, and a note referring to an edition of Robert of Torigny is incorrect; a synod of Lombez (p. 24) (Lombers) and Roger of Hoveden are quoted (pp. 25 and 370) without references. Such carelessness occurs less frequently in other chapters of the volume. However, a long quotation (pp. 44-45) is not adequately identified by a mere reference to where it is found in Doellinger's conglomeration of documents. On pages 46 and 51 Schmidt's work is referred to without the title and volume, though it has not previously been cited. Cf. similar slips in regard to references on pp. 47, 366, 399, and 404.

In a series of chapters the Manichaean theology, morals, ritual, and clergy of the Cathari are lucidly dealt with. M. Guiraud (and it might be recalled that he received training under Duchesne) repeatedly points out resemblances between ceremonies of the Cathari and certain rites as they were observed in the early Church. He does not mention the recent discovery (1930) of Coptic manuscripts containing early Manichaean writings. It would be interesting indeed, when these manuscripts are deciphered, to see if any traces of early Manichaean liturgy throw light on the ritual of the mediaeval Cathari. After the Waldenses have been dispatched in one brief chapter, the spread and extent of heresy in the Midi are treated with great precision. Statistics and maps are given.

Heresy among the nobles and their attitude toward church property are especially well explained.

There is a chapter on the prostrated condition of the Catholic Church in this region and the first efforts of the papacy to counteract heresy are recounted. The author because of his previous works speaks with authority, if briefly, on the foundation of the Dominicans. In the end he treats of the immediate events that led up to the inquisition: the murder of the papal legate and the crusade against the Albigenses. The latter is passed over as not belonging within the limits of the subject. The history is brought down to the treaty of Meaux-Paris in 1229, which, the author says, created the inquisition.

Besides three maps there are eleven fine plates, most of them of architectural monuments. The second plate gives a page of the famous Lyons ritual of the Cathari; with it go a transcription of the Provençal and a French translation. There is a detailed table of contents, but an index will appear only at the end of the work.

The following corrections might be added to the list of errata on p. 428: for *lantiores* read *lautiores* (p. 15); for Schonhau read Schönau (p. 35); for *ulutatum* read *ululatum* (p. 363); καθαρός is incorrectly accented (pp. 143 and 428). The book contains far too many smaller typographical errors. These are but tiny blemishes on a really great work. Its rich documentation in no way keeps it from being eminently readable. The story is unfolded largely in the very words of the sources. It is lighted with the wisdom of M. Guiraud's vast experience as an historian. Readers will be impatient to see the succeeding volumes.

A. K. Ziegler.

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Die Lutherkommentare des Johannes Cochläus: kritische Studie zur Geschichtschreibung im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung. Von Adolf Herte. [*Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte . . . mit unterstützung der Gesellschaft des Corpus Catholicorum. . . .* Heft 33.] (Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935. Pp. xx, 351.)

We have already noted in this Review several studies in the *Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien* and the *Corpus Catholicorum*. The series is marching on. This *Heft* is a surprising study of Cochläus, perhaps the greatest controversialist of the Lutheran period. Step by step he followed in Luther's tracks, noting every word he spoke and deed he did to show the world of his day and its posterity the errors, the inconsistencies, the double dealing, the infamy, the blasphemy of the heresiarch. Withal Cochläus and his work have not been given the careful study they deserved. For nearly two centuries after his death Catholic writers drew ammunition from his writings for their war against the Protestants.

Four numbers (3, 15, 17, 18) of the *Corpus Catholicorum* have been devoted to the tracts: *Adversus cucullatum Minotaurum Wittenbergensem . . .* (1523); *In obscuros viros . . .* (1530); *Aequitatis Discussio super consilio delectorum Cardinalium* (1538); and *Drei Schriften gegen Luthers Schmalkaldische Artikel* (1538). Several tracts and his letters have not yet appeared in the *Corpus* critically done to the modern taste. In 1549 Cochläus saw through the press his major work, *Commentaria . . . de Actis et Scriptis Martini Lutheri Saxonis. . . .* The monograph in hand is, as its title indicates, a critical study of these Commentaries and, therefore, a contribution to the historiography of the Protestant rebellion. Carefully and exhaustingly Dr. Herte lists and discusses the editions and translations of the Commentaries. The greater part of his book (pp. 28-226) is devoted to a study of Cochläus' sources of information, those he himself indicated and those he used but did not indicate. In treating of the latter—fifty-one items—Dr. Herte gives both the text of the passage Cochläus drew upon and the pertinent text in the Commentaries. Then follow luminous studies on how Cochläus proceeded to build up his tract, the picture he drew of Luther, and the value of the Commentaries. Obviously it has been impossible for the reviewer to check an appreciable number of Dr. Herte's statements and references. And until the text of the Commentaries appears such a check would be beside the point. This text is promised and, besides, a study of *Die katholische Lutherliteratur im Bannkreis der Lutherkommentare des Cochläus.* The *Heft* under consideration may safely be said to be as indispensable an introduction to those which are to come as the works of Cochläus in general and his Commentaries in particular will be to a fair and scholarly understanding of an age in which even these times of religious indifference have not lost interest. Readers interested in the study of the careers of Saints John Fisher and Thomas More will find matter of importance on pages 210-215.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Pennsylvania State College.

Concerning Heretics: whether they are to be persecuted and how they are to be treated. A Collection of the Opinions of learned Men both ancient and modern. An anonymous Work attributed to Sebastian Castellio now first done into English, together with excerpts from other works of Sebastian Castellio and David Joris on religious liberty. By ROLAND H. BAINTON. [Records of Civilization: *Sources and Studies*, XXII.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1935. Pp. xiv, 342. $4.00.)

In October, 1553, John Calvin, dictator of Geneva's temporal and spiritual life, burned Michael Servetus at the stake for heresy. Following time-honored usage, Calvin denounced Servetus. The town council of

Geneva did the deed. Vigorous protest was not long forthcoming in the form of a tract printed in two simultaneous Latin editions and translated also into French and German. Although the tract appeared anonymously and was produced ostensibly at Magdeburg (the translations elsewhere), Calvin and his co-workers almost immediately suspected chiefly a professor of Greek at Basel, Sebastian Castellio. He had developed a lively interest in the topics of his own day. His liberal views on biblical questions had led him on to publishing radical views on other matters, for example, capital punishment and now, when Servetus was done to death, toleration. That he was the author of the *De Haereticis*, as Calvin suspected, is fairly certain. Dr. Bainton thinks he is and refers to him as its author and editor throughout this first critically prepared and annotated English translation.

The idea of toleration was not new in the revolutionary age in which Luther, Calvin and other reformers purged society and the Church. Dr. Bainton prefaces Castellio's tracts by an introduction reviewing ecclesiastical opinion from the times of Lactantius, Chrysostom, and Jerome to those of the Protestant liberals and independents. This survey is necessarily condensed; students will do well to supplement it by reading Dr. Bainton's other writings on the subject. Too condensed we think is his analysis of Castellio's theories. However, we have the text luminously turned into English and copiously annotated to clear up what laymen cannot reasonably be expected to understand—a task well done, not excluding the bibliographical apparatus. Happy, too, is the makeup of the book. More than one contributor to the *Records* feels as Dr. Bainton did when he wrote in his acknowledgment of the editor of the series, " To work with him is an education in book making."

As this review was about to be sent off to the editor there was delivered (November 15, 1936) at the door, as it has been for more than a score of years, the Sunday edition of a well-known metropolitan newspaper with a highly-regarded *Book Review* feature. It contained a review, spread over the better part of a page and illustrated by a picture of Calvin, of Stephen Zweig's *The Right to Heresy: Castellio against Calvin*, translated from the German by Eden and Cedar Paul (New York, The Viking Press, 1936). In his account the reviewer got along very nicely but not without revealing himself (and the character of some Book Review features). He assured his readers: " Only a half dozen modern scholars in Switzerland, Italy, England and France have investigated his (Castellio's) life and works closely, and only Buisson has written at much length concerning him." Dr. Bainton, of course, lives in New Haven, and could have directed the editorial management to a very excellent portrait of Castellio. We recall another reviewer in the same journal who could blithely call the roll of the contributors to the eighth volume of the *Cambridge Mediaeval History*

without mentioning the name of Dr. Lynn Thorndike. And Dr. Thorndike lives in New York.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

Pennsylvania State College.

Saint Peter Canisius, S. J., 1521-1597. By J. BRODRICK, S. J. (New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc. 1935. Pp. xiii, 859.)

Fr. Brodrick has followed up his Robert Bellarmine with an even more important book in this life of Peter Canisius.

Those who have read much concerning the celebrated Counter-Reformation cannot but deplore the fact that Catholic literature has been deficient in adequate accounts of the exploits of that time. To get an adequate concept of the brilliance of the Catholic achievement it has been necessary to go to Ranke, who, whatever his faults, knew great historic action when he saw it and whose statement of the Catholic strategy of the period is still classical.

In this book of wide scope and rich background Fr. Brodrick has furnished not merely a biography but a book of the "Life and Times" type, and the reviewer is not acquainted with any other book (at least in English) which compares with it for giving an insight into the problems of the Church in the sixteenth century and into the struggle made so brilliantly, so patiently, so successfully to check the advancing tide of religious dissent. The historian will find this large book a mine of valuable information, abounding as it does in concrete specific illustration of the generalities found in other books. The growing number of Catholics interested in solid literature will have to hand one of the most satisfactory and readable narratives that our time has furnished.

We have been debtors to Fr. Brodrick for his study of Bellarmine, the scholar of the Catholic Reformation. We are even more grateful for this classic book which unfolds the same movement in the life of one of the Church's great pro-consuls.

JOHN KEATING CARTWRIGHT.

Washington, D. C.

England 1870-1914. By R. C. K. ENSOR. [The Oxford History of England, Vol. II. Edited by G. N. Clark.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1936. Pp. xxiii, 634. 15 s.)

The second volume of the Oxford History of England is the work of a man who for many years has been deeply interested in current events and social problems. This volume shows a depth of knowledge of the period and an ability to present that knowledge in a very agreeable manner.

Indeed, just as it was said of Mr. Gladstone that he could compel the attention of the House when delivering the dry facts of a budget, so it may be said of this work that it does not pall even when presenting business statistics. The tables of comparative populations, for instance (pp. 102, 269, and 498), are accompanied by an explanation of their relation to the origins of the World War in a manner that should drive from the minds of political historians that subservience to collected diplomatic publications that has been characteristic of so many who have written on the period. The study of the industrial supremacy of Great Britain and its relative decline due to foreign tariffs, the export of machinery to competitors, nepotism in business administration and the canny policy of the unions presents a truthful and fascinating account of economic trends in the late Victorian and Edwardian eras, and makes the pursuit of the "dismal science" as absorbing as a modern detective story.

The chief characteristics of the period Mr. Ensor gives as five: the tendency towards greater democratic control, the growth of a literate population, the ruin of English agriculture, the decline of industrial supremacy, and the development of the dominions. It is the third of these characteristics that is perhaps the most surprising since the old idea that the repeal of the Corn Laws ruined the English farmer is jettisoned. The blame for this catastrophe is now placed on Disraeli for his failure to imitate the example of continental countries by placing a high tariff on American wheat. Cheap ocean-going freight and inventions in agricultural implements hastened the process of sacrificing the land to industrial demands, and by 1880 English agriculture was no more. It should not be forgotten, however, that Peel took the first and most important step in 1846, and that events of the late nineteenth century rather hastened to a conclusion what was perhaps inevitable.

It is possibly in the matter of religion that Mr. Ensor goes farthest astray. Chapter V, on Mental and Social Aspects, 1870-1886, is a well-written and succinct account of religious thought and practice, but one must disagree with his statement that the English people were so profoundly influenced by evangelicanism that merchants were deterred from dishonesty by a "keen sense of moral accountancy" and a very real vision of heaven and hell. Nor can one agree that hedonism is more associated with one age than another. "What will the neighbours say?" would appear to be as powerful a deterrent to sinful pleasure today as it was then and, despite the malign influence of King Edward VII when Prince of Wales, one would be on safer ground in asserting that the balance between good and evil remains at a fairly constant level.

One of the most important aspects of modern life is the influence of the press. In this respect the rise of the *Daily Mail* is enlightening, for Mr. Ensor has touched the nub of the matter by citing Alfred Harmsworth's dictum that readers like a "good hate." Fattening its circulation on lurid

tales of Omdurman and the Transvaal the zenith was reached when, during the Boxer rising, the *Mail* published a "lurid account of a frightful massacre" in the legations at Pekin—an account that was pure invention. Other newspapers followed suit until during the Great War they were able to dictate policy and to influence world opinion.

For many Germanophil readers the estimate of the relative strength of Queen Victoria and King Edward (pp. 342-343) will come as a distinct surprise. Not only did the prince lack the industry of his mother, but he had considerably less ability. In Appendix C Mr. Ensor cites the almost forgotten incident of King Edward's naïve conduct in handing to the Kaiser the "highly confidential brief" with which he had been furnished by the Foreign Office in order to familiarise himself with what answers he might be expected to give should certain questions be asked in the course of the conversation between the two monarchs. Again a distinct contrast between the queen and her son is shown in their respective attitudes towards the Kruger telegram, a contrast not to the advantage of the prince. Finally Mr. Ensor's contempt for the diplomatic ability of King Edward leads him to the conclusion that the German charge of encirclement is distinctly flattering to a man who was quite incapable of doing anything more than win over a semi-hostile Parisian populace.

This same study of character has resulted in an excellent summary of the late Lord Asquith (p. 407). "Strong in argument, but weak in imagination, his terse latinized oratory had never in itself the magic which compels attention," he says, and to those who have read the latest edition of Asquith's letters it will come as no surprise that he should be contrasted with Grey or Balfour "as earthenware from porcelain."

In international affairs Mr. Ensor gives an honest account of events leading to British participation in the World War. For instance, after mentioning the redistribution of the French and English fleets in 1912 and the letters sent by Grey to Cambon on the subject, he cites Grey's phrase that "the disposition of the French and British fleets respectively at the present moment is not based upon an engagement to cooperate in war," and adds "No verbal caveat, however, could quite undo the logic of facts," a telling observation, the truth of which cannot be gainsaid.

On the war guilt he leans, as might be expected, to placing the blame on Germany. Again he relies less upon diplomatic correspondence than upon the financial arrangements of the German government on the eve of the war. "When the war came . . . it was found that Germany had collected nearly everything owing to her from her prospective enemies, while leaving debts to them outstanding. It is significant that the main operations which by the beginning of August had produced this temporary situation . . . were carried out before the assassination at Sarajevo, chiefly in the month of May." Whether we agree with him in this or not, whether we accept the evidence of Colonel House, of which he makes great use, it must be

conceded that Mr. Ensor has written a readable and well-documented account, not only of the events leading to 1914 but of the whole period.

There is an excellent classified and critical bibliography and some first-rate maps. It is a book for which the college teacher of modern history should be grateful.

H. H. COULSON.

St. Louis University.

Lord Palmerston. By HERBERT C. F. BELL. 2 vols. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1936. Pp. xvii, 500; xi, 499.)

It is surprising that Lord Palmerston has lacked an adequate biography so long. That unspoiled child of fortune, the inimitable "Lord Pam," the jaunty, sporting aristocrat who for more than half a century stood in the front ranks in English public life and for over thirty years played a decisive rôle in all the high politics of Europe, the *enfant terrible* of the Foreign Office, the *bête noire* of Continental autocrats, the hope of European Liberals, the idol of the British public, the statesman whose "reign" marked the apogee of British influence in world affairs in the nineteenth century, "the British lion personified" — such a figure might have been expected to evoke a flood of biographies. Yet hitherto we have had only a dull, official, five-volume "Life" of the mid-Victorian type and a couple of short sketches. It is gratifying, therefore, that an American scholar has now stepped into the breach and has given us the finest study of the great Englishman that has yet appeared.

Professor Bell's work is the fruit of over a dozen years of researches: in the Public Record Office, the Foreign Office, the British Museum, the Library of Congress, the archives of the Royal family at Windsor, the Grey, Clarendon, and Lansdowne papers, and the boundless mass of printed works. Thus solidly grounded and copiously supplied with new material, it is also well constructed, singularly free from partiality or prejudice, and eminently readable.

This is not a new "Life and Times of Lord Palmerston," but rather an evaluation of Palmerston as a statesman. Renouncing the attempt to tell the whole story of the age or all that the celebrated Viscount did, the author has aimed chiefly, with constant reference to original sources, new and old, to show how Palmerston viewed the issues that he faced and how he wished to meet them, how he bore himself at the more critical junctures of his career, the spirit and methods of his diplomacy, the reasons for his successes and failures. This procedure may have certain disadvantages. It seems to give the descriptions of many of Palmerston's diplomatic campaigns a fragmentary character: one is given samples of Palmerston's strategy, not a complete survey of it. But in view of the immensity of the

field and necessary limits of space, it was probably the best procedure that could have been adopted. It is more illuminating to probe deeply into certain well-chosen examples of Palmerston's moves and methods than to give a more superficial account of all of them.

The great Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister is here portrayed with perfect candor, without the slightest traces either of iconoclasm or of hero-worship. In foreign policy Professor Bell credits him with moderation and sureness of aim; remarkable ability to estimate the chances of success; sincerity, directness, courage; rapid and daring decisions; consistent efforts to avert wars or revolutions abroad, coupled with the steady patronage of Continental Liberalism. On the other side of the picture — "intolerable arrogance"; a predilection for writing provocative or bombastic despatches; "rough and tumble methods in diplomacy"; the habit of "demanding everything which it seemed within the bounds of possibility to secure, and of using arguments to the point of absurdity in justifying these claims"; lack of scruple where national interests were concerned; an "insular and rather blatant type of patriotism"; and failure to grasp the power of rising Nationalism on the Continent. Only an "involuntary expansionist," he was, nevertheless, determined that Britain's position should not only be defended but consolidated at every favorable opportunity; and he conceived that England's prestige required that she should be not only respected but feared in every European capital. His championship of Liberalism abroad was primarily a matter of spreading British influence; but he was capable of pursuing disinterested policies, as in "the great humanitarian enterprise of his life," the attempt to extirpate the African slave trade.

His great successes in foreign policy came in his handling of the Belgian Question in the 1830's, the Near Eastern crisis of 1839-41, the revolutionary crisis of 1848-50, the Crimean War, and the unification of Italy. He was not so successful in Spain; in the Don Pacifico affair he showed "what a bully he could be, and how utterly he could lose his head"; he never understood German affairs; and when the age of romantic Liberalism had passed and Bismarck was ushering in an age of stern realism, the octogenerian Palmerston ended with one humiliating defeat after another. If in the quiet era after Waterloo "haughty words, orders to the fleet, and patronage of the smaller Continental states" had given England "a pivotal position in international affairs," in the end, against resolute and mobile opponents, Palmerston's old methods appeared to be only a policy of "bluff and bluster," "meddle and muddle," of needless and dangerous interventions in matters that were none of England's business.

If Professor Bell has not greatly changed our fundamental conceptions of Palmerstonian statesmanship, he has vastly enriched our knowledge of the subject. He has carried through what is by far the most extensive and systematic exploration of the field that has yet been made. He has given

us, if not the definitive life of Palmerston, at least the most important work that has been written about Palmerston—and one of the most important American historical works of recent years.

ROBERT H. LORD.

St. John's Seminary,
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Rochambeau, Father and Son. By JEAN-EDMOND WEELEN. Translated by Lawrence Lee. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1936. Pp. xviii, 285.)

Rochambeau is partly responsible for the oblivion in which he remained for such a long time. This new and adequate biography by a young historian who was fortunate enough to have access to the private and public documents dealing with the hero of Yorktown, fills a long-felt need. The author has appended to his work the hitherto unpublished journal of the Vicomte de Rochambeau who accompanied his father to America. In this diary are recorded the departure of the North American Expedition, its arrival and reception at Rhode Island, some comments on the campaign at Williamsburg and Yorktown, together with his impressions of the country and its inhabitants. Born in Vendôme, Rochambeau became a soldier to fulfill his family's wish and tradition. After having received his education under the direction of the Oratorians and the Jesuits, he entered the army at the age of seventeen with the rank of standard-bearer. His twenty years of distinguished service in Europe, notably at Namur, Crefeld, Closter-camp, and in other campaigns, won him several promotions. His superiors noted his courage and initiative. When it was felt in France that a man was needed to command the French army in America, Rochambeau was selected because he was "one with a stable nature and with practical judgment, a trained soldier who had proven himself on the battle-field."

Rochambeau showed himself worthy of the honor conferred upon him. "He was pliable enough to act as second under Washington, firm enough to control the ardors of the young nobles, both French and foreign, who were passionately enrolling under the flags of the king for the *Crusade of Liberation.*" Upon his arrival at Rhode Island, this veteran of foreign wars openly expressed his intentions to be the "first soldier in the army of Washington." As Commander-in-Chief of the French forces under the direction of Washington, he maintained "the most exact and complete discipline among the soldiers."

The author describes vividly his negotiations with Washington on the proposed attack of New York, a plan strongly favored by Washington but one which would have proved disastrous on account of the superiority of the English naval forces. Rochambeau favored an attack from the South where Lafayette had already given up Richmond to Cornwallis. The

danger of disaster seemed imminent. "With that sharpness of vision which makes great captains, he saw on the map the only field of battle upon which the allies could win. In spite of the impotent king, in spite of his mocking staff, in spite of Washington even, he determined to assemble his forces there." The success of this campaign which brought about the end of the war, fully justified Rochambeau's determination and leadership. His task completed, Rochambeau embarked for France amidst the gratitude and admiration of the American people. He devoted his time in training officers and in reorganizing the army. When the Revolution came, as Professor Chinard states in his introduction to the book, "The last of the King's marshals was to be the first general of the Revolution, serving the changing government, whatever may have been his personal opinions, with the same abnegation and the same honesty he had evidenced in serving his king." The translation of this simply written book is well done. It makes it possible for a larger class of readers to appreciate Rochambeau as a military leader, a great patriot, and an honest man.

PAUL A. BARRETTE.

Saint Louis University.

The Scotch-Irish in Northern Ireland and in the American Colonies. By MAUDE GLASGOW, M. D., Dr. P. H. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1936. Pp. xxi, 345. $3.00.)

Among the surprising books of the current year is this tale of the magnanimous men of Ulster before and after they made the American nation great. But the reader who is looking for light on what purports to be the major thesis of the book will be disappointed. If he has a stomach for this messy rehash of the Protestant Tradition, and also the perseverance to hold on until near the end of the poisoned feast, he will be rewarded with a series of brief biographical sketches culled, we suspect, from some handy encyclopedia or, possibly, from the *Dictionary of American Biography.* He may or may not admit that "the influence of the Scotch-Irish in America has been felt in war and peace, in the little red school-house, in the halls of legislation and in the presidential chair." He may agree with the publisher that "their story can bear retelling." But if he has any historical sense whatever, if he has any partiality for the Scotch-Irish and their mythical grandeur, he will regret that Maude Glasgow has undertaken to glorify them. As a contribution to our literature on an important topic she has produced a book that is amateurish, not to say infantile.

Altogether aside from what should constitute the major portion of the book, there is much laudation of English virtue and much scathing contempt for Irish perfidy. Generosity and tolerance are ever on the Protestant side; the Catholic Irish are savages a little less than human in their voluntary degradation, almost diabolic in their fiendish cruelty. In holy

indignation the author rises to the defense of the devoted, humane, soft-hearted Cromwell (even the great bad man himself would be astounded at her endearing terms!), whose mercy in his hour of victory at Drogheda has been questioned by partisan history! This lover of justice who sought no preferment for himself merely executed, with what divine reluctance! the righteous judgment of God on the unmentionable atrocities of Catholic Irish. Any schoolboy, even a Scotch-Irish schoolboy, will smile at this unless, perhaps, he, or his teacher, has gotten his history from the same out-moded sources on which the book is based.

But really, the *pièce de resistance* of the whole absurd compilation is the graffic account of the Irish St. Bartholomew of 1641. Anointed (*sic!*) and blessed by their priests and Jesuits, the savage Irish marched forth to the slaughter of six hundred thousand innocent Protestants. The "Immutable" pope was largely responsible for this loss of life which "stands unparalleled in the history of the world." The schoolboy who smiled at the "soft-hearted" Cromwell will guffaw at the Irish St. Bartholomew. After this we are prepared for the "Communism" of De Valera and the "high ethics and morality" of the Orangemen.

The blurb on the wrapper sets forth the author's qualifications for her venture into the field of history. She is a nurse by profession, with apparently a flare for politics. She has taken part "in every suffrage parade in New York City." Long ago, during her girlhood in Ulster she very likely read much of the classic nonsense which we now call the Protestant Tradition. Her busy life has since prevented her from drinking at less muddy sources. We can readily understand why she should have made her distorted and horrifying collection of anti-Catholic anecdotes. But what we cannot quite comprehend is the sad fact that she could find a publisher of some repute in New York City in 1936. Perhaps it was thought that the book would sell merely on strength of its title, and might be printed without previous examination of its contents. We do not like to consider it a deliberate insult to Catholics. In any case, it may do much harm among the low-brow element who will be its only readers.

R. Corrigan.

St. Louis University.

The Puritan Pronaos: Studies in the Intellectual Life of New England in the Seventeenth Century. By Samuel Eliot Morison. (New York: New York University Press. 1936. Pp. 281. $3.75.)

This almost forbidding title is the introduction to a volume that reads as fascinatingly as a novel. Professor Morison knows the colonial period and its figures as we know our friends and the neighborhood in which we grew up; hence, as he guides his readers through that period, he can discourse entertainingly and accurately upon any phase. He has drawn from

his long researches an essence which he skillfully blends with lucid, smooth-flowing English, racy colloquialism, and both classical and modern allusions to produce a refreshing answer to the historians who have somewhat distorted New England history because of their overemphasis on the shortcomings of the settlers on these rock-bound ecasts. These shortcomings Morison does not overlook nor deny, but he does set them in their proper relationship to the genuine intellectual contributions made by these same much-criticized Puritans.

The thesis of the book maintains that "primitive New England is a Puritan pronaos to the American mind of the nineteenth century, and of today." The intellectual life of seventeenth-century New England was determined by the top layer of its society. Its permanence and power were due to its acceptance by the community which had chosen men of education as the leaders of the puritan emigration (p. 17). These leaders soon set up in the wilderness to which they came the external apparatus of civilized life and learning: a college, grammar schools, elementary schools, and a printing press; these they then vivified by theological love and interest in books, literary expression, and the scientific advances of their day.

In the exposition of the proper appreciation of that intellectual life, Professor Morison has laid many ghosts, it is to be hoped forever. Foremost is the death-blow he has given to the long-accepted opinion that New Englanders were predestinarian Calvinists (p. 10). Calvinists they were, but by reason of their doctrine of the Covenant and its later modification, the Half-Way Covenant, they had turned their backs upon Genevan predestinarianism and fatalism (pp. 10, 156). The acceptance of Jonathan Edwards, admittedly New England's most brilliant theologian and philosopher of the colonial period, as a typical representative of the theological tradition rather than an isolated figure, whose inexorable logic rationalized New England theology into a dour system of predestinarianism, has accounted for the usual opinion. Because of their Calvinism, the seventeenth-century New Englanders ignored the mystical aspects of faith and the humanity of Jesus (p. 166).

The usual teaching that Harvard College was originally only a seminary or divinity school has been corrected. Admitting that the dynamic motive behind the foundation of Harvard was "to train up a learned ministry to take the place of Oxford and Cambridge graduates in New England, as they died off," yet he insists that "the purposes of the founders were much broader than that; and the curriculum they established was not a divinity curriculum" (pp. 29, 39). The college was not intended primarily as a feeder for the Church (p. 17). It is in the light of this desire for university-trained men and for learned ministers that the opposition to Mistress Anne Hutchinson is to be understood; "in the radical fringe of the puritan movement" to which she belonged, "hostility to universities and to learned ministers was an article of faith" (p. 27).

A middle course is steered between the opposing estimates of the New England school-system. This school-system was not intended to be democratic nor for all. Thus "there was no parental obligation to see that a child learned to write or cypher"; indeed, except for writing schools or private schools there was no place for a boy who could not master Latin grammar (p. 74). And in the seventeenth century these private schools "had little importance with public schools" (p. 75). Religious education was insisted upon for all, whether at home or in school. But the schools also aimed at imparting another element, of equal importance in their eyes: the attainment of "good conduct, right action, and true welfare," called by the Schoolmen, Εμπραξια (p. 41).

Morison definitely disagrees with the thesis advanced by Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch to explain the Puritan economics and financial successes, believing that the restatement of the Weber thesis by R. H. Tawney accords better with the facts as observed in New England (p. 8).

Pointing out "that puritan restrictions on purely physical enjoyment tended to stimulate intellectual life" (p. 23), Morison is at pains to set forth that the Puritans were not kill-joys, as has so often been maintained. Their opposition to Christmas-keeping was born of the antagonism to "the pagan revelry that merry England has inflicted on the day of Christ's Nativity" (p. 23). For similar reasons they abolished May Day, "which in Elizabethan England was far from being the innocent school-children's holiday that it is now" (p. 23). But in their places they established three holidays: Thanksgiving, election day, and the college commencement. He also explains that "it was not the puritans alone who killed the theatre" (p. 11).

The present reviewer disagrees with Professor Morison's implication that it was the "beautiful Catholic manual devotion," the *Imitation of Christ*, which "the Harvard president and his board of puritan parsons wished to print" (p. 120). From the evidence at hand it would seem that this reprint was not to include the essentially Catholic portion of this devotional manual, *viz.*, the Fourth Book, which treats of the Eucharist. This reviewer would also disagree with Professor Morison's conclusion that the collapse of the New England school system occurred in the early sixteen-seventies, just before King Philip's War, rather than at the end of the seventeenth century (p. 92), the time usually assigned: his own references (p. 73) point to an equally disastrous collapse during the latter period.

The book is to be recommended for an interesting evening's entertainment for all who enjoy a good historical novel or who revel in more serious volumes. Its wealth of material and its accurate scholarship design it for use for those who wish a thorough survey of the period and as an antidote to the earlier historical works which deal with early New England.

ARTHUR J. RILEY.

Waltham, Mass.

Early Explorations and Mission Establishments in Texas. By EDWARD W. HEUSINGER, F. R. G. S. (San Antonio: The Naylor Company. 1936. Pp. xvi, 222. $2.50.)

Of the works dealing with the early explorations and missionary efforts in Texas this book probably is the best short treatment yet published. From the collection of materials covering this extensive field of the Church's early history the author has sifted facts and woven them into an interesting historical narrative. Beginning with the Pineda expedition in 1519 he takes us through the period of the secularization of the missions in the eighteenth century.

Among the explorers of Texas appear the names of Pineda, Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado and De Soto. Added to the list is La Salle, whose treacherous death and ill-fated expedition lost for France her claim to the new territory. Later in 1689 and 1690 came De Leon, whose two expeditions, together with that of Domingo Teran contributed toward establishing Spain's claim to the new lands.

These explorers did not surpass in importance the missionaries, who oftentimes accompanied them on their travels. From Querétaro and Zacatecas came the zealous sons of St. Francis to preach the gospel to the savages and to win their souls for Christ. Rivaling the stories of heroic martyrdom for the faith in other parts of the new world were the deeds of these Franciscan padres. It has been said that the conquistadores worked for man, the padres for God; the adventurers thirsted for gold, the missionaries for souls. The labors of these men of God oftentimes went unappreciated by the Indians, but posterity has found in the missions built by tireless hands, now mostly in ruins, living monuments of religious love and devotion. Among the missionaries whose names will be forever linked with the establishment of the faith in Texas are Massanet, Olivares, Espinosa, Garcia, and the Venerable Margil.

The author has given us a wealth of historical matter. Particularly useful are the appendices, which include a list of the missions, presidios and asistencias, and much other valuable information.

WILLIAM F. BLAKESLEE.

Austin, Texas.

Rim of Christendom. By HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1936. Pp. xiv, 644. $5.00.)

Eusebio Francisco Kino (1645-1711) was a Jesuit fortunate enough to have been discovered by Herbert Eugene Bolton. The latter having had his appetite for manuscript materials whetted in 1907 by the finding of Kino's long lost "Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta," has since that time

traced every step of the life of his subject in the fashion of a keen historical detective. He has gathered the documentary remains from the village of Segno in the Tyrolese Alps, where Kino was born, to the mission fringe of civilization, where Kino labored and died. The result of this vigorous "adventure in archives and on the trail" is a great event in historical writing, the present complete biography and the forthcoming three volumes of sources which were utilized in its production.

A book stamped with the Bolton characteristics carries its own recommendations, but in *Rim of Christendom* the Professor has outdone himself. He has long been known to historians as an outstanding stylist in historical exposition, to his students as an interesting lecturer and effective teacher, to his fellows as a remarkable judge and analyist of character, to many as an inspiring guide to greater things. Casually he has brought all qualities of his genius into play in this volume. The work may appear too detailed to some general readers, but every reader must be impressed by its cheerful, philosophical outlook and constant progress. It is gracious, colorful, properly humorous on occasion, enlightened by sane observations, exact in details and especially in "ecclesiastical grammar," the stumbling block of many another non-Catholic writer. The thirty larger divisions of the book are subdivided into some one hundred and fifty shorter chapters, each of which is unified around a well-turned phrase or sentence. There is a prologue, an epilogue, a bibliography listing nearly two hundred unpublished Kino documents, over one hundred other source items, and about one hundred and fifty published works. There are fifty-four illustrations, three facsimiles, and eight maps. Behind the work lies decades of background in scholarship and writing.

Kino's energetic life as a Jesuit scholastic, priest, astronomer, seaman, explorer, early Californian, cartographer, ranchman, horseman, apostle, and builder in the Pimería Alta challenged the kindred mental and physical energies of Dr. Bolton. The challenge has been answered, and the names of the two, for years linked together in the memories of California students, will remain inseparably so, even though the biographer is author a dozen times of other important books and documentary materials. *Rim of Christendom* is more than a double biography, that is, of the Pima missionary and of the past decades of the research life of the author. It is the early and fundamental history of California, northern Mexico, and Arizona. It is a mission study. It is a cross-sectional view of Spanish colonial life, institutions and personalities. It is a guide to historical research, and above all an illustration of the ideals for historians such as the author has been inculcating in his generations of students.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN.

Loyola University, Chicago.

Historia de la República del Ecuador. Tomo I (1822-1861). By J. L. R. (Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana. 1935. Pp. 655.)

The initials J. L. R. conceal the identity of Father José Le Gouhir y Rodas of the Society of Jesus in Quito. Father Le Gouhir, although a Frenchman, has lived some forty years in Ecuador, and has become so thoroughly identified with its intellectual and religious life as to attain fame as an Ecuadorean historian. The volume under review is the revised edition of his history of Ecuador, published originally in 1921. This new edition is more than a superficial revision and represents later and more intense investigations and a more abundant bibliography.

The period covered is from the creation of the republic of Greater Colombia until the advent of García Moreno as president in 1861. The epoch is intensely dramatic, constituting as it does the four decades of republican experiment. Ecuador has experienced a multiplicity of trials and difficulties since the rule of Spain was cast off at Pichincha in 1822. The history of this experience has never been told in a continuous, substantial, scholarly form. The learned Jesuit historian gives us a volume which is bulky, replete with detail, and based on exhaustive research and a scrupulous examination of the documentary sources. The work is not written with the beauty of style which distinguishes that other notable historian of Ecuador, Federico González Súarez, but it is superior to the standard work of Pedro Fermin Cevallos in that modern historical methodology is employed, whereas the more voluminous work of Cevallos is denuded of all source references.

Father Le Gouhir divides his historical sketch into several broad sections, commencing with the Colombian period, extending from 1822 to 1830. During these first eight years of independence the southern provinces which were Ecuador existed as part of Colombia, and dependent entirely on Bogotá for their administration. From colonial times a feeling of national homogeneity had been developing in the south. The Audiencia of Quito, while a secondary possession of the Spanish crown had developed an intellectual and cultural life of its own. The union with Colombia was the dream of Simón Bolívar, whose concept embraced the perpetual union of Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador. It is not without significance that the separation came precisely in the year that Bolívar died at Santa Marta. Father Le Gouhir scouts the idea that the separation of Ecuador was a *coup d'état* perpetrated by General Flores. Every bit of evidence points to the gradual drifting apart of the region until spontaneously and logically the three southern provinces of Quito, Guayaquil and Azuay established an independent government. The second division is entitled, *Período floreano*, that is, the fifteen years during which General Juan José Flores dominated the Ecuadorean scene. The founder of independence became in due time the first president. His rule was marred by a rampant militarism, the aftermath of the wars of emancipation. Provinces devastated by an arro-

gant soldiery, Ecuador fell prey during the critical years of 1830-35 to every evil which the modern state can suffer—stagnation in education and intellectual life, ruthless militarism, widespread financial chaos with counterfeiting the normal thing. In short, Ecuador was born into the society of nations under circumstances anything but auspicious. Revolt and opposition thrived. Flores was faced by a rising tide of antagonism which he was incapable of stemming. Outstanding among those in bitter opposition was Vicente Rocafuerte, one of the most remarkable men South America has produced. Friend of Bolívar, educated in France, long in the diplomatic service of Mexico, in 1834 he led the attack against Flores. By one of the strange tricks of fate he fell prisoner, and accepted the terms of Flores, becoming his ally. The combination was irresistible and by dint of extermination of the opposition, Rocafuerte rose to the presidency. His administration was short and dynamic. Reforms were made on every hand—education, monetary system, Church, commerce. His restless energy brooked no opposition or delay. He was, as Father Le Gouhir insists, the forerunner of that other energetic spirit who sought to convert Ecuador overnight into a modern state, Gabriel García Moreno. Rocafuerte passed as a Liberal. His doctrines are vague and flexible. There is a tinge of anti-clericalism in his make-up, although he did not persecute or curtail to an appreciable degree religious authority. His régime ended in an enormous betterment for distracted Ecuador. He paved the way for the return of Flores to power. The course of the five years from 1840 to 1845 was stormy. First as subaltern of Flores, as Governor of Guayas, Rocafuerte supported the executive. By 1844 he passed again into the opposition. On March 6, 1845, the rebellion broke and Flores was swept from power never to return as chief executive. Father Le Gouhir presents the new period as the *Período marcista*, that is, the outcome of the March revolution. The duration was also fifteen years, terminating in 1860.

These fifteen years are strangely confused. The author does a noble piece of work in clarifying and classifying the sequence of events from the presidency of Roca to the advent of García Moreno. Militarism rose once more in the persons of two chieftains, Urvina and Robles, both free from all political ideology. Urvina expelled the Jesuits and instituted a series of acts hostile to the Church. Ecuador was victim once again to unbridled ambition and unsatiable militarism. By 1858 complete anarchy beset the republic. Several governments existed simultaneously. The figure of García Moreno begins to assume larger and larger proportions. In two chaotic years with unbelievable rapidity, García Moreno becomes the head of the Quito government, directs military operations, signs a pact with Peru, and finally enters Guayaquil and achieves national unity. Ecuador is to begin another epoch—also, by odd coincidence, of fifteen years. The first volume under review ends with the consolidation of authority and the rise of García Moreno.

Father Le Gouhir has told a dramatic tale, with no attempt to romanticize. His style is dry and concise. His documentation is astonishing. He has apparently read everything and consulted everything. No detail has escaped his diligent pen. The work is a standard history, indispensable to the serious student. It is, however, decidedly not light reading.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

La Iglesia Ecuatoriana en el Siglo XIX. Tomo I: *De 1809 a 1845.* By JULIO TOBAR DONOSO. (Quito: Editorial Ecuatoriana. 1934. Pp. xx, 633.)

The history of the Catholic Church in Hispanic America has received rather scant attention from the historians of the twentieth century. It is especially gratifying to come upon a study of the evolution of the Church in Ecuador during the nineteenth century. This republic, together with Colombia, has been the scene of the bitterest clerical and anti-clerical struggle in Hispanic America. During the course of the last century, Ecuador has been torn by the Church controversy, which to this day still manifests itself in the organization and ideology of the political parties. The heritage of the last century has tended to make the modern Conservative party in Ecuador essentially a party dedicated to the defense of Catholic interests and to a program of Catholic action. Dr. Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, one of the most outstanding of Ecuadorean conservatives, writing in his *Política Conservadora*, asserts that the Conservative platform of political action is synonymous with the program of Catholic action. The Liberal faction has tended to become, by the same logic, an element critical of the Church if not openly hostile. It is an oft repeated affirmation in Ecuador that Liberal is equivalent to an indifferent Catholic.

Undoubtedly this acrimony and antagonism were intensified by the leading figure of Catholic conservatism, Gabriel García Moreno. His personality is so dominant as to constitute the essence of the nineteenth century in the republic. His two administrations from 1860 to 1865 and from 1869 to 1875 created the conservative organism, gave it body and doctrine, and attached it irrevocably to the Catholic Church. García Moreno was responsible for a fundamental reform which placed the Church in an independent category—the Concordat of 1862 between the Ecuadorean government and the Holy See. The understanding of the situation which brought about the necessity of this reform and the reason for the unwavering conservative defense of it must be sought in the earlier history of Ecuador. Hence the extraordinary importance of this work of Dr. Tobar Donoso. A leading Quito lawyer and member of the Academy of

History, Dr. Tobar has devoted untiring efforts to the elucidation of the history of republican Ecuador. He is distinguished as a member of the Catholic laity and represents at the present time one of the most gifted and intelligent of the spokesmen for Catholic action. No pen is better qualified than his to give us a clear, scholarly, and satisfactory history of the development of the Church in Ecuador during the first half of the past century. And let it be said in passing that the history of the Church in Ecuador is by no means the limited, restricted subject it appears to be. The lesson derived from this examination is applicable to numerous other cases, and to many other nations of the Hispanic American world. The importance of this volume transcends the boundaries of the small republic which is its scene of action. The work reveals a cross section of the relations of Church and State in Hispanic America.

With a slight introduction as to the Church at the end of the colonial epoch, Dr. Tobar proceeds at once to analyze the position of the ecclesiastical authority during the wars of emancipation, from 1810 to 1825. It is extremely important to bear in mind that the Church in Spanish America had declined in discipline and vigor during the eighteenth century, due in large measure to the preponderance of the *patronato real*, whereby the effective control of ecclesiastical appointments was in the hands of the crown. The fifteen years of struggle weakened still further this authority. It was quite natural that neglect and indifference should creep in. The wars absorbed the energies and activities of the Hispanic American states. Direct contact with Europe was cut off and by the time the republics were set up and Spanish rule eliminated, the Church was in a bad way.

Throughout the period discussed by Dr. Tobar there is constant emphasis on the need for reform, internal and administrative. The great Ecuadorean ecclesiastic and historian, Federico González Súarez, writing some fifty years ago, lays stress on the deplorable conditions prevalent in the regular and secular clergy of the country. His reference is to the late colonial period, which with the creation of the republic was not radically changed. The erection of independent governments in Hispanic America created a peculiar and delicate situation. The Holy See in granting the *patronato real* had, of course, recognized the extraordinary services rendered by the Spanish monarchs in the propagation of the faith in the new world. It was the contention of the new republican governments that this same privilege automatically passed to the head of the state which had evolved out of the colony. This contention, which would mean the control of the Church by the State, was fundamental in the reorientation of both authorities during the first decades of independence. The problem of *patronata* and the liberty of the Church became after 1825 the basic consideration in the definition of the State-Church relationship.

Dr. Tobar quite naturally devotes attention to the Church in Colombia,

since Ecuador formed part of the greater Colombian republic until 1830. Colombia was the seat of a vast amount of anti-clerical and even irreligious propaganda. The party which began to develop favoring Francisco de Paula Santander against Bolívar was strongly tinged with nineteenth-century liberalism. Hostility to the Society of Jesus, indifference to religion in general and a philosophy of *chiesa libera in stato libero* rapidly developed. The southern provinces of Colombia or Ecuador separated from the union in 1830, and quite naturally the new republic inherited the difficulties and the evils which had grown up in Colombia. Under the first president, Juan José Flores, little was done to permanently remedy these ills. During the decade of 1830 to 1840 the executive position was occupied by one of the most remarkable statesmen Ecuador has produced, Vicente Rocafuerte. His régime is commonly dubbed Liberal—and even anti-clerical. Rocafuerte had been educated in France and had absorbed the current doctrines of the late eighteenth century. His religious policy was far from fanatical, although he professed a certain degree of independence of authorities and of submission of the Church to the State. His energetic, even violent administration gave way to the second term of General Flores. It is unnecessary to trace through the vicissitudes of the Church under Flores, except to emphasize that while the great religious reform of the Concordat was not to come until the first administration of Gabriel García Moreno, nevertheless Ecuador retained the formal recognition of Catholic supremacy in all her constitutions. The revival of discipline and practice was quite evidently a crying need. García Moreno injected new vigor into the Church, liberating it entirely from the anomalous position under a *patronato*, whose interpretation was vague and equivocal.

Dr. Tobar Donoso has given us a distinguished work, characterized by the careful, laborious scholarship which is his leading quality as a historian. The second and third volumes are promised. The present work extends to the year 1845 when President Flores was overthrown. The succeeding years are perhaps even more interesting and critical, for Ecuador between 1845 and 1860 fell prey to the most wilful militarism and wanton tyranny. The tribulations of the Church during these trying times merit volumes as well documented and clearly written as this. The ecclesiastical history of all Hispanic America is made immeasurably more intelligible by the publication of works of this order. The bibliography is suggestive and complete. The author indicates the use of numerous manuscript sources which exist in Quito, especially in private collections.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

Mexican Martyrdom. By WILFRID PARSONS, S. J. (New York: The MacMillan Company. 1936. Pp. vi, 304. $2.50.)

The name of the author of this book is a valid promise to the reader not only that it will be interesting but also that, from the historical standpoint, it will be accurate. Father Parsons has for long years been interested in Mexico; a fighter for the cause of the persecuted Church and people. During all these years his office was a center into which poured information which the secular newspapers did not carry. Mexican exiles came to him for consolation, received it, and in return added to his store of inside knowledge.

The long-time head and front of the persecution, Calles, is the central figure in the story Father Parsons now tells. One might almost say that Calles is the ink with which it was written. The book, therefore, does not go far back into Mexican history. As history it is contemporary; its contents made up of what was in the newspapers and what the editors missed.

It is also a study and a very enlightening one. Chapter XV answers a question that almost everyone asks: "How was it all done?" Father Parsons shows how easy it was, first to control the army, then to organize and control labor, and lastly to gather the great indirect loot into the hands of a few. Such an evil combination logically demanded control of education and the suppression of the spiritual forces of the country. "Only the Church stood across the path to this goal. It had always stood across that path." Exactly. There it is, well summed up. Mexico was a little ahead of time with her radicalism. Others saw later that there are crimes against the people which cannot be committed without abolishing the Ten Commandments. The persecution in Mexico—like the persecutions in Spain, Germany and Russia—tried to abolish them. Such a job must begin with the children, and that is why the field of education is always the radical battle-ground.

Father Parsons dwells at the end on what I said in my book, *Blood-Drenched Altars,* about the Patronato. There he stepped back out of contemporary history, but not so far back. The Patronato, an exceptional privilege granted only for special reasons and fairly well justified in emergencies, remained too long in existence in Mexico. It became a peaceful way for the Spanish State to do what Calles wanted later to do—control everything. But to keep it on safe lines for three centuries was impossible. To me the wonder of Mexican history is that the Patronato lasted so long without doing greater damage. The Catholic Church is fighting for something in Mexico and elsewhere which nations must have even for their temporal salvation—human liberty. Wherever her battle is lost tyranny like unto the Mexican is sure to follow.

✠ FRANCIS C. KELLEY.

Bishop of Oklahoma City and Tulsa.

The Old Province of Quebec. By ALFRED LEROY BURT. (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press. 1933. Pp. xiii, 551. $5.00.)

The publishers' announcement on the dust-cover of this substantial and well-produced volume states that it tells the whole story of those important three decades of the life of Canada that followed the surrender to the British in 1760. These are not the author's words. He tells us only that the book is not the fulfilment of his original purpose, which was to produce a study of the "dual nationality" of Canada. (The meticulous might cavil at the phrase, yet its meaning and appositeness, in a broad view, are obvious.) But the inadequacy of secondary authorities on this "crucial period" drove him to consult the primary sources in the Public Archives of Canada, and then Professor Burt was lost—or saved. "The annual summer's pilgrimage to the chief shrine of Canadian history—became too strong a habit."

The result, as regards his field of investigation, is clearly indicated in the section on bibliography at the end of the volume. "The Public Archives of Canada . . . contain the originals or copies of all the manuscripts upon which this volume is principally based." There follows a clear, and useful, summary description of the several series of these manuscripts. They are the governmental records of the period and the papers, largely official and semi-official, of various persons closely connected with the administration. We thus learn that the sources in the provincial archives of Quebec, and in other official, ecclesiastical or private depositories throughout that province, have been consulted only slightly, if at all—except in the cases where transcripts are available in Ottawa. The printed collections of original material that are listed are mainly of the same character, official or near-official. In the notes to the several chapters references are made to a small number of printed books and articles, primary or secondary, but here too it is noticeable that no mention is made of the voluminous publications issued under the direction of the Provincial Archivist of Quebec, Dr. Pierre Georges Roy—the annual *Rapports* of the Archivist, the various *Inventaires* of the Archives, the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*—and that the titles occur of only three or four works in the French language.

Within the field to which he has thus limited himself the author has made a sane, careful, and exhaustive study. From the official records the story of thirty years is evolved, full-flowing, comprehensive, authoritative. And what a story it is! The fall of New France, military régime, Pontiac war, establishment of civil government, struggle between British *publicani* and executive power, Quebec Act, American Revolution and invasion of Canada, border warfare and military repression, the coming of the Loyalists, the triumph of the movement for representative institutions and a more liberal constitution! We close our eyes and have the illusion that we are following the high history of the western world, not the chronicle

of a rather obscure back settlement. The narrative carries us along, *ohne Hast, ohne Rast,* avoiding no difficulty, overlooking no detail—interpreting the characters of public men, illuminating the obscurities of back-stairs influence and parish-pump politics, exposing the secrets of imperial statesmanship, explaining the intricacies of private economy and public finance, expounding the military strategy of a century and a half ago, and what might have happened as well as what did happen in the ensuing campaigns, laying bare the mind and motives of soldier and civilian, *habitant* and *seigneur,* merchant and settler, Indian and fur-trader, Englishman, American, Canadian—and this with hardly a shadow of doubt, scarcely a flicker of hesitation. We come to have some fellow-feeling for Lord Melbourne, aghast before a historian of an earlier age: "I wish I were as sure of anything as Tom Macaulay is of everything."

But the important fact is that, within his field, and regarded in the longer perspective, Professor Burt's assurance is well-founded. He knows his material and he uses it with sanity and scholarship. Almost at haphazard one might pick out his treatment of the genesis of the Quebec Act, of the connection of that act with the American Revolution, of the determination of the boundary in the treaty of 1783, of the fate of the Loyalists, of the retention of the western posts by the British, as examples of the illuminating and judicious presentation of difficult historical problems and their solutions.

Nevertheless, the author has his predilections and his pet ideas, regarding which it were well to warn his reader. In the first place, he believes in the British Empire. Not that he is any fanatical imperialist—quite otherwise. But he has an abiding faith that the British Empire, taken by and large, has been an institution that worketh for righteousness. In the second place, he believes in democracy, and more particularly in the inevitability of democracy in the wide open spaces, or wide woody spaces, of America, on the banks of the St. Lawrence just as certainly as in the shadow of Beacon Hill. This article of faith displays itself more as a principle of interpretation than as an object of demonstration, but for a brief space the author can become enthusiastic over the French captains of militia, until, the three years of military rule over, the obtuseness of the civil government relegated these protagonists of democracy to an obscurity where their most noteworthy achievement seems to have been the oppression of the *habitants* through abuse of the *corvée.* Thirdly, our author's point of view is purely secular. In this he does not differ from the vast majority of non-Catholic historical writers. But the result is that we learn no more from Professor Burt, one of whose outstanding characteristics is freedom from religious bias, than from a Francis Maseres or a Herman Witsius Ryland, regarding those spiritual elements which have contributed so much to making the French-speaking Canadian what he is to-day. Finally, Professor Burt has heard a call to one evangelical duty, that of debunking

"the saviour of Canada," Sir Guy Carleton, later Lord Dorchester. Occasionally something good is said of Carleton, as in regard to his struggle against the obnoxious fees system: "Throughout his whole Canadian career he fought against the financial sordidness that marked the public service of the eighteenth century" (p. 146). But the general conclusion is that "failure is written across the whole story of his career in Canada's ancient capital" (p. 430). The author is convinced that Carleton was dishonest in principle, unscrupulous in conduct, and blundering in judgment, and each episode of his career is interpreted on this basis. On the other hand Sir Frederick Haldimand, successor to Carleton at the end of his first term as governor, is considered to have been "a man of scrupulous honesty," and therefore, although he continued Carleton's illegalities and made mistakes which, where they differed from his predecessor's, seem to have been at least as disastrous, is supplied with an *apologia* when he does not receive a *benedictio*.

It may be inferred from what has been said that he who is seeking errors of fact will have ill gleaning in the wake of Professor Burt. A few statements may be questioned. I know of no conclusive evidence to support the implication in the assertion that, at the beginning of the British régime, "numbers of the Canadian clergy . . . were by no means anxious for a bishop" (p. 96). The Rev. John Carroll, afterwards first bishop of Baltimore, was not the elder brother of Charles Carroll of Carrollton (p. 231). The description of Major General John Sullivan as one who had "risen through the stages of stable boy, hostler, innkeeper, lawyer and politician" is likely to give a false impression of a man who was among the best educated of his state and generation (p. 238). The suggestion that the Indian allies of the British practised "refined cruelty" on prisoners only once surely carries the defence of the savages too far (p. 282). The land board of Hesse was vigorously at work long before the Constitutional Act came into force, but its effectiveness in putting settlers on their lots was impaired by difficulties outside its control (p. 395). The silly story of the *Quebec Herald* that the Church coerced parents of sons who wished to enter the priesthood into giving mortgages for three hundred pounds in each case, to the damage of British creditors, should have been either omitted or discounted (pp. 485-6). The existence in the British Museum, King's Manuscripts 207, of a "Report on the state of the laws and courts of judicature in Quebec" has been known since Paullin and Paxson's *Guide to the Materials in London Archives for the History of the United States since 1783* was published by Carnegie Institution of Washington in 1914 (p. 502).

Typographical mistakes are remarkably few. There is one, somewhat amusing, at page 70, line 16, and probably another at page 393, line 2. The author elects to put his notes at the end of the volume, and in their drafting practices praiseworthily the virtue of condensation.

It follows from the character of his sources that Professor Burt tells a tale of administration and government. He is independent: it is with his own eyes that he looks out at the old province of Quebec from the Château Saint-Louis; but they are eyes that have just been lifted from the despatches of the governor or the minutes of the council. After any necessary allowance is made for the author's sentiments, *The Old Province of Quebec* must be acclaimed as a masterly study, by far the best yet to appear, of the first thirty years of British imperial administration in the newly acquired French colony of Canada. But the history of the Canadian people during those years is still to be written—perhaps, indeed, never can be written.

JAMES F. KENNEY.

Ottawa, Canada.

Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi, sive *Summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series e documentis tabularii praesertim Vaticani collecta, digesta, edita.* Volumen IV: a pontificatu Clementis PP. VIII (1592) usque ad pontificatum Alexandri PP. VII (1667). Per PATRITIUM GAUCHAT, O. M. Conv. (Münster: Regensbergsche Buchhandlung. 1935. Pp. xv, 418.)

Father Gauchat, as the scholarly world has known for some time, was chosen to continue the famous work of Eubel, and we have here the first fruits of his labors. In his preface, which like the rest of the volume is in Latin, he tells us something of the history of the undertaking. Sigismund Brettle took over the work in 1924 after the death of Eubel. He intended to introduce a new method of presentation, but finally came back to Eubel's plan before he was forced by illness to abandon the project. Father Gauchat is following the same plan with minor adaptations due to his sources and varying conditions. Most of the preface is devoted to a discussion of the source collections.

To those who are not familiar with Eubel the plan of the volume will be useful. It is divided into two books, the first presenting the popes and cardinals (1592-1667), and the second, the patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops of the same period. The first book, divided into three parts, lists (1) the popes together with the cardinals created during each pontificate; (2) the cardinals according to their titular churches; (3) the cardinals in alphabetical order. Throughout the work the brief essential data concerning each personnage are bolstered by detailed notes from the sources.

In the second book the names of the bishops are given chronologically under the dioceses. The dioceses appear in alphabetical order under their Latin names. The vernacular name of each diocese appears in parentheses after the Latin. An appendix listing the vernacular names forms a con-

venient key. Another of the six appendices gives the names of all persons mentioned in the second book. There are six columns of abbreviations and six columns of *addenda* and *corrigenda*. Father Gauchat intends to continue his work and likewise to offer corrections for the first three volumes. There is no need of stressing the importance of this volume as an instrument of research. As a sort of by-product it offers a convenient way of identifying stubborn Latin place-names.

We can be proud of the fact that the author is an American. His name will be on many lips. His achievement is concrete evidence of what can be accomplished in the field of historical scholarship by American religious who have the opportunity of sojourning in their houses abroad.

A. K. Ziegler.

Catholic University of America.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The April number of this REVIEW will contain the secretary's report of the Providence meeting of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION. Papers of interest to the Association, read at the meeting of the American Historical Association, held concurrently, were: John Hus in the Light of Modern Research, by Matthew Spinka; the Sabbath in the West, 1800-1865, by F. L. Bronner; Organized Anti-Catholicism, by Ray A. Billington; Why a Mediaevalist feels at Home in America, by Professor Powicke of Oxford; and the Catholic Church in Modern Europe, by the Rev. Dr. J. A. Magner, Chicago. At the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, Prof. W. T. Root spoke on the Historian as Teacher. There was a general session devoted to an appraisal of the *History of American Life* series. At the luncheon conference of editors of historical publications the topic discussed was Footnotes: a Study and a Proposed Solution. The presidential address of the American Historical Association was delivered by Prof. C. H. McIlwain on the Historian's Part in a Changing World (printed in the January number of the *American Historical Review*).

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Arthur S. Barnes, noted convert author, died Nov. 13, at the age of 75. He edited *The Popes and the Ordinal*, a collection of documents bearing on Anglican orders, and was the author of: *The Early Church in the Light of Monuments*; *Bishop Barlow and Anglican Orders*; the *Greater Catholic Schools of England*; and the *Martyrdom of Sts. Peter and Paul.*

Rev. Charles M. Daley, O. P., died November 21, in his fortieth year. His early death cut short a promising career in the study of incunabula. Among his published contributions in this and other fields are: "Incunabula of Albertus Magnus in the Library of Congress" (*Catholic Historical Review*, XVII, 444 ff.); "The Coat of Arms of the Order of Preachers" (*Dominicana*, XIII, XIV); "Dominican Incunabula in the Library of Congress" (*Historical Records and Studies*, XXII, 184 ff.); and "Representations of Saint Dominic in the United States" (*Liturgical Arts*, III, 110 ff.).

November saw the appearance of the first number of the *Catholic Book and Magazine Digest* (Chancery Bldg., St. Paul, Minn., $3.00 per annum). The practical and literary success of the *Reader's Digest* gives hope that the new publication in the Catholic field will supply a similar need. Its purpose is "to select, condense, and republish articles from Catholic pub-

lications the world over." In this initial number of 26 articles history is adequately represented. If the editors will continue to make wise selections and will refrain from undue and disconnected condensation, this monthly will find ready response among the hosts of Catholics who are either too busy to scan the entire field of Catholic literature or too poor to subscribe to all the journals they might like to see. From the standpoint of the business office it might have been good policy, if practicable, to have offered in this first issue, appearing in good season for Christmas shopping, reduced rates for club subscriptions, after the manner of the *Reader's Digest*.

The Roman Primacy to A. D. 461, by Dr. B. J. Kidd, is a Church Union publication issued by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

The Men of the Vatican, by Thomas B. Howells, is "a short account of the rise and fall of the power of the popes," written with an anti-Catholic bias for Protestant readers.

A small but illuminating book is Dr. George Sarton's *Study of the History of Science,* a lecture with a classified and annotated bibliography of the subject, which has been published by the Harvard University Press (pp. 75, $1.50).

The Clarendon Press is inviting subscriptions for *English Medieval Embroidery,* a survey of English embroidery executed between the beginning of the tenth century and the close of the fourteenth, together with an illustrated descriptive catalogue of the surviving examples preserved in European and American public and private collections, by A. G. I. Christie (nine guineas). Vestments of all kinds will be illustrated, including a chasuble now in New York.

In "Alpenpässe und römische Malaria in der mittelalterlichen Kaiserzeit" (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift,* XXX, 4), Otto Kestner gives interesting statistics to show that the Alpine passes could scarcely be crossed by an army in the spring before the middle of May, and that Rome could not be besieged during the summer without exposing the army to danger of annihilation from pestilence.

Pedigree of Protestantism, by the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Edward Hawks, is a "family tree" which shows the relationship of the various sects (Peter Reilly Co., pp. 112, 60 cents, cloth $1.10).

Volume VIII (*Patron-Rudolf*) of the Buchberger *Lexikon fuer Theologie und Kirche* (Herder) has recently appeared. The same excellence of contents and of typographical grace is sustained throughout its 1039 pages.

With no introductory statement of editorial policy, the first number of

the *Review of Religion*, to be issued in November, January, March, and May by Columbia University Press, has made its appearance (pp. 109). Raymond C. Knox is the editor; the subscription is two dollars a year. The articles of the initial number concern Christianity and Islam, by Carl H. Becker; Religious Values of Contemporary Nativism, by Nicol Macnicol; and Churches, by Percy Hughes. Communications, Book Reviews, Book Notices, and Among the Periodicals are the titles of the other departments.

Continuing and succeeding the *Christian Union Quarterly* is *Christendom*, Charles C. Morrison, temporary editor (Dr. John Knox later named managing editor), the first number of which appeared in Autumn, 1935 (Chicago). Its scope will embrace all phases of Christian culture, including Church history. The articles having historical content which have so far appeared concern the Restoration of Christendom, by William Temple, archbishop of York; Peter Ainslie, a Catholic Protestant, by Charles C. Morrison; the Future of Protestantism, by Frederick C. Grant; and Pietism, a Source of German Nationalism, by Koppel S. Pinson.

Studies in the last issue of *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* embrace: "De Legenda quadam S. Francisci anonyma et incognita, nuperrime in 'Legenda aurea' et in 'Passionali' arbitrarie detecta," by Michael Bihl, O. F. M.; and "Les écrits du B. Charles de Sezze," by Jacques Heerinckx, O. F. M.

To the September number of *Church History* M. M. Knappen contributes an article on William Tindale, First Puritan; R. E. E. Harkness discusses the Principles Established in Rhode Island; Ray C. Petry writes on Calvin's Conception of the *Communio Sanctorum*; Richard J. Hooker describes the Mayhew Controversy; Maurice C. Latta gives the Background for the Social Gospel in American Protestantism; and Dale H. Moore tells the story of Christianity in Ethiopia.

An *Outline of Modern History* in two parts (vol. I, 1500-1830, pp. 88; vol. II, 1830-1936, pp. 126) has just been issued (Macmillan) by Professors E. M. Earle and J. H. Wuorinen of Columbia University. The *Outline* is the third edition of a very popular syllabus which the authors claim "is neither a strait-jacket nor a short-cut to knowledge." It is based upon Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes' *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe* (2 vols., Macmillan, 1936).

Church and State on the European Continent, by Dr. Adolf Keller, is the Beckly Lecture for 1936 (Epworth Press).

The articles in the October number of the *Revue d'Historire Ecclésiastique* are: "Les anciens symboles dans la définition de Chalcédoine,"

by J. Lebon; and "Contribution à l'histoire de l'administration judiciare de l'Église romaine au XIV^e^ siècle," by G. Mollat. There is also a note by Ch. Martin, S. J., "Proclus de Constantinople, Nestorius et le 'bienheureux Nie' Εις τὴν Ἀνάληψιν."

The Politico-Social Ideas of Hugues Félicité Robert de Lamennais, 1830-1854 (pp. iv, 24), by Dr. Charles S. Pearson, is an abridgment of a doctoral dissertation published under the auspices of the Graduate School of New York University. The study attempts "to analyze Lamennais's democratic ideology" and "to show the important role played by him in the evolution of modern democracy." Lamennais, as is pointed out in the author's conclusion, was first the warm defender of both monarchy and Church; then losing faith in the State he clung to the Church, but finally abandoned the latter to place his hope for the solution of social problems in the voice of the people. The abridged form in which this dissertation is printed offers a most satisfactory solution to a problem which has long been vexing many of our graduate schools—the publication of doctoral theses.

The character of *Luther*, as portrayed by Franz Funck-Brentano in his recent book of that title, is one of contradictions (Jonathan Cape).

Longmans has published *Calvin and the Reformation*, by Professor James MacKinnon.

Volumes XXIX and XXX of the *Enciclopedia Italiana* (Reh-Scap) contain such important articles as Rome, the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the Risorgimento (Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana).

The Second World Thomistic Congress, promoted by the Pontifical Academy of St. Thomas of Aquin, was held at Rome November 23-28. Papers and reports were read by eminent scholars from French, Belgian, Polish, and Italian universities, and by Thomistic specialists among the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits.

A new edition of Dom Cuthbert Butler's *Vatican Council: the Story Told from the inside by Bishop Ullathorne's Letters* has been issued by Longmans.

The Dissolution of the English Monasteries, by Geoffrey Baskerville, is a four-hundredth anniversary study (Jonathan Cape).

The story of the *English Carmelites in Penal Times* has been written by Sister Anne Hardman (Burns, Oates and Washbourne).

St. Thomas More and His Age is a new book by Algernon Cecil (Eyre and Spottiswoode).

The *Thirty-Second Report* of the Catholic Record Society prints a paper on Norfolk House, read by Mr. R. Cecil Wilton.

A History of St. Catharine's College, once Catharine Hall, Cambridge, by Dr. W. H. S. Jones, is a record of over four and a half centuries (Cambridge University Press).

Volume II of J. G. Lockhart's *Life of Lord Halifax* has peculiar interest for the information given, from family papers, of the affairs of Leo XIII and the Anglican orders, and of the Conversations at Malines (Geoffrey Bles).

The Scotland of Queen Mary and the Religious Wars, 1513-1638, is the third volume of Agnes Mure Mackenzie's *History of Scotland* (Alexander MacLehose).

Les Saints Irlandais hors d'Irlande (pp. xiii, 219), by Dom Louis Gougaud, O. S. B., is a study of 44 Irish saints honored in the past and present in Great Britain and on the Continent. It is published as Fasc. 16 of the Bibliothèque de la *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*.

Ferns Clergy and Parishes, by the Rev. James B. Leslie, is an account of the Irish diocese of Ferns which is practically coterminous with the county of Wexford.

Among the contents of the September number of *Studies* are: a study of oral traditions as an Untapped Source of Irish history, by S. O. Duilearga; the second part of an account of the Press in Ireland, which deals with some Catholic periodicals, by S. J. Brown, S. J.; the story of the Irish in California, by George T. Crowley, S. J.; and an article on Abbé Chevrier, designated as a Saint of Lyons, by Virginia M. Crawford.

A description of the collections in the Sulpician archives of Canada, "Les archives sulpiciennes source d'histoire ecclésiastique," is given by M. R. Bonin in the *Rapport* of the Société Canadienne d'Histoire de l'Église Catholique for 1934-1935, pp. 39-50. In the same report (pp. 65-73) Ivanhoë Caron contributes "Les archives de l'archevêché de Québec."

Maggs Bros. catalogue No. 8, French Series, lists six hundred forty-six French administrative acts (1581-1791) concerning the colonization of America. Well over one hundred of these titles appear for the first time in an authoritative list. The catalogue follows closely the method used by Lawrence C. Wroth in his standard *Acts of French Royal Administration concerning Canada, Guiana, the West Indies and Louisiana prior to 1791* (1930). It is a valuable supplement to Wroth's work and to Worthington C. Ford's earlier *French Royal Edicts, etc. on America* (1927). Several of the prints deal with the sale of property belonging to the suppressed Society of Jesus and with other ecclesiastical questions.

The Quebec Act is again examined in a study by the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Metzger, S. J.; it appears in the Monograph Series of the U. S. Catholic Historical Society.

An analysis of anti-Catholicism during the period is presented by Sister Mary Augustina Ray in her dissertation, *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (Columbia University Press).

The *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* for September prints the History of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the Archdiocese of Philadelphia; a List of the Augustinian Friars, Members of the Province of St. Thomas of Villanova, who have departed this life since the foundation of the province in 1796; and a reprint from Vol. I of Martin I. J. Griffin's study of William Penn, the Friend of Catholics.

The leading article in *Mid-America,* October, concerns the Jesuits in America, an Opportunity for Historians, the address of Professor Herbert Bolton, delivered at the foundation of the Institute of Jesuit History. The Missions of New France: a Study in Motivation, another paper read on the same occasion, by Father Raymond Corrigan, S. J., is also printed; and there is an account of Don Vasco de Quiroga, Sociologist of New Spain, by Paul Lietz.

In its November issue the *Historical Bulletin* (always to be recommended to the Catholic teacher of history) begins a symposium on Great Popes: Joseph C. Roubik writes on Nicholas the Great, Francis S. Betten on Innocent the Third, and Raymond Corrigan on Leo the Thirteenth. In addition, Laurence K. Patterson concludes his study of the Religion of Napoleon; and Gilbert J. Garraghan gives an appreciation of Father Thomas Hughes, Seven Decades a Jesuit. There is also an interesting note listing 31 Jesuit explorers to be found in Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography* who never lived!

Dr. Max Farrand has reprinted for private circulation his critical examination of Benjamin Franklin's Memoirs, which appeared in the *Huntington Library Bulletin,* no. 10 (October, 1936). That library is preparing for publication an edition of the memoirs which will take into account the original manuscript, the William Temple Franklin text, the French translation of 1791, the Robinson edition of 1793, and Le Veillard's translation.

James D. Hackett has compiled a list of the *Bishops of the United States of Irish Birth or Descent,* from 1789 to 1935 (New York, American Irish Historical Society).

A concise and readable survey, entitled *Nativism in America: 1840-1860* (pp. 47), was recently presented by Sister M. St. Henry, I. H. M., to the faculty of the graduate school at the University of Pennsylvania for the

degree of master of arts. The survey is, however, confined mainly to Pennsylvania.

The centenary of the founding of the Marists was observed by St. Charles parish, Providence, R. I., October 16-18, with an elaborate religious and literary programme.

At the 72d convocation of the University of the State of New York, celebrating the tercentenary of higher education in America, October 15, Dr. James J. Walsh spoke on the Fruits of the Past.

Acta et Dicta for October prints studies of John Shanley, Bishop of Fargo, by Sister Helen Angela Hurley, S. S. J.; the Faribaults in Minnesota, by Julius A. Coller II; the Coming of Bishop Grace, by William Busch; the First German Migration into Stearns County, by Sister Ardis Hartman, O. S. B.; and the Industrial Activities of the Foreign-Born in St. Cloud in 1860, by Sister Leone Treacy, O. S. B.

The Story of St. Thomas College, which was founded by Bishop Ireland in 1885, has been written by the Rev. Edward Keenan and published by the college as number 1 of its *Aquin Papers*.

Heritage: a Centennial Commemoration, the Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet, 1836-1936, is a pamphlet prepared by Sister Antonine of that community and published by the College of St. Catherine in St. Paul.

Georgia's Disputed Ruins, edited by E. M. Coulter (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press), seeks an explanation of ruins which have been presumed to be remains of Spanish missions built more than 300 years ago. The evidence of this study points to the conclusion that these ruins were originally sugar houses built by planters in the early 19th century.

Inquirers for information on the early Jesuit martyrs of Virginia and Florida are referred to *The Romance of the Floridas* by Michael Kenny, S. J. (Bruce Company, Milwaukee), which is now in its second edition. Father Pedro Martínez, head of the first Jesuit mission, whose rare combination of qualities promised another Xavier, was slain by the natives in North Florida, October 6, 1566, within a month of his landing. From a second band in 1568, and a third in 1570, Father Baptista de Segura, S. J., superior, selected Father Luis de Quirós with three novices and three lay brothers for the mission of Ajacan, between the Potomac and Rappahannock. Led by Luis, a convert chief from that district, they arrived September 12, 1570, and erected St. Mary's "Log Chapel of the Rappahannock." Turning traitor and apostate, Luis, with his Indian kin, slew Father Quirós and Brothers Solís and Méndez February 4, 1571, and Father Segura and Brothers Redondo, Linares, and Zeballos five days

later, confessedly in hatred of the Faith. The Richmond diocese raised a monument to their memory at Aquia, Feast of Christ the King, 1934, and is now promoting their beatification.

The first publication of the new Ibero American Institute of the University of Puerto Rico is devoted to a study of *Haiti and Her Problems* by Dantès Bellegarde, one of Haiti's outstanding cultural and political leaders. The four lectures that M. Bellegarde delivered at the University of Puerto Rico in April, 1936, though brief, "constitute a logical exposé of Haiti, her internal evolution and her international position," to quote the introductory words of Dr. Richard Pattee, Director of the Institute.

Documents. Pittsburgh Diocese in 1848: Report of Bishop Michael O'Connor to Archbishop Milde, Vienna (*Pittsburgh Catholic,* Nov. 5); Father Bonduel to the Editor of the *Catholic Telegraph,* Aug. 24, 1844 [Bishop Henni's first visitation], Peter L. Johnson (*Salesianum,* October); Rev. Valentine Sommereisen, Pioneer Priest of the West, contributed by John M. Lenhart, O. M. Cap. (*Central Blatt and Social Justice,* October, November); Selections from the Diary and Gazette of Father Pierre Potier, S. J., 1708-1781 (concluded), E. R. Ott (*Mid-America,* October); An Early Visitation of Colorado, 1860: Letters of the Rt. Rev. John Baptist Miège, S. J., D. D., annotated by the Rev. William J. Howlett and edited by Thomas F. O'Connor (*ibid.*); the Opening of the First Jesuit Mission in Colorado: Conejos Parish, J. Manuel Espinosa (*ibid.*); Father Skolla's Report on His Indian Missions, contributed by Grace L. Nute (*Acta et Dicta,* October).

Anniversaries. 25th: Order of Martha (Women's Auxiliary of the Catholic Church Extension Society; St. Raymond's, Providence, R. I. (*Providence Visitor,* Oct. 8); St. Ann's Polish Church, Jersey City, N. J.; Church of the Resurrection, Chester, Pa.; Paradise Protectory, Abbottstown, Pa.; Guardian Angels' parish, Pittsburgh, Pa.; St. Monica's, Cincinnati, O.; St. Bernard's, Wauwatosa, Wis. (*Catholic Herald Citizen,* Oct. 3); St. Leo's, Oakland, Calif.; St. Ignatius parish, Los Angeles (*Tidings,* Oct. 9). *50th:* St. Jean Baptiste, Lynn, Mass.; St. Anne's, Southboro, Mass.; *Catholic News,* N. Y. (see its issue of Oct. 24); St. Raphael's, New York City (*Catholic News,* Nov. 7, 14); parish of Our Lady, Queen of Angels, New York City (*ibid.,* Nov. 14); St. Joseph's, Washington, D. C. (*Baltimore Catholic Review,* Nov. 20); St. Elizabeth's, Norwood, O. (*Catholic Telegraph,* Oct. 1); Mother of Mercy Academy, Westwood, O.; All Hallows parish, San Francisco (*Catholic Monitor,* Oct. 31); St. Francis de Sales parish, Oakland, Calif. (*ibid.,* Nov. 14). *75th:* St. Joseph's, San Francisco (*ibid.,* Oct. 17, 24). *100th:* Vicariate of Jamaica; St. Catherine's Dominican Convent, Sion Hill, Blackrock, Ire.; St. Paul's, Brooklyn, N. Y.; St. Patrick's, Newburgh, N. Y. (*Catholic News,* Oct. 17, 24).

BRIEF NOTICES

ANDRÉ, LOUIS, *Les sources de l'histoire de France.* (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1935, pp. 412, 180, $3.00.) The work of M. Louis André, dealing with one of the most important periods of French history, has been brought to an end with Vol. 8. Its completion represents the result of an immense amount of research and reading on the part of the author. It may be safely said that, to date, no other work like it has been published. Having in view the importance of many writers mentioned, M. André leaves the field of history proper to give his personal estimate of them, so that many of his chapters are really contributions to the literary history of France. Thus his work will be of interest not only to the historian but also to the litterateur. The author makes no claim to have consulted public and private archives, his aim being rather to mention only printed sources and to give his opinion concerning them. This last volume includes two kinds of sources of great importance: social history, and the history of provinces and cities. For foreign sources a complete enumeration was not possible, because during the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV France played such an important rôle in all European questions that almost the whole of the historical writings of the period would have had to be included in this volume. Finally, the volume ends with a general index of 180 pages. This index will facilitate the finding of references to personages, facts, institutions, towns, countries, etc. (JOSEPH SCHNEIDER.)

ARNOLD, THURMAN W., *The Symbols of Government.* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1935, pp. vi, 278, $3.00.) A joint seminar of the psychology and law departments at Yale University under the direction of Professors Edward S. Robinson and Thurman W. Arnold resulted in the publication of *The Symbols of Government.* Some of the material has formerly appeared as articles in the *Harvard Law Review, The Annals of the American Academy of Political Sciences,* and the *Yale Law Journal.* The book is directed to the discussion of the question, "Must the problems of government continue to be studied in the light of faiths and symbols rather than by scientific observations?" (p. v). In the first nine chapters of approximately 200 pages the author points out the inconsistency between theory and practice in the fields of economics and government. This inconsistency leads him to conclude that ideals, morality, and principles have blocked progress. Therefore, these *symbols* must be cast aside and expediency enthroned. The author's method of illustration is by analogy, and when he tries to bring theology into his parallel situations some unusual concepts of God's attributes, the Trinity, and Redemption are revealed. Except for the policy of expediency no practical solution of our problems is offered. The chief merit of the book lies in the diagnosis of our social institutions. (Sr. MARY BERTRAND.)

BELL, BERNARD IDDINGS, *A Catholic Looks At His World.* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Morehouse Publishing Company, 1936, pp. 130, $1.25.) It must be

understood that the author considers that "Catholic" does not mean "Roman Catholic." To him, Rome is just another denomination. In spite of such a viewpoint, Canon Bell has realized many sociological truths. In his chapter on the Catholic point of view, he neatly distinguishes between the secularist and the Catholic, and admits the radical tendency of true Catholicism. In his analysis of the state, it is evident he was influenced by the writings of Dawson and Berdyaev. This analysis is his best work, and gives a clear view of the radical difference between democracy, capitalism, fascism, bolshevism, and communism. Bell sees that the selfishness of individuals is the universal hindrance to good government. He interprets the economic problem with reference to the Christian moral code as a basis for its solution. Bell makes his Catholic viewpoint too catholic. In agreement with Niebuhr, he claims we require a new Catholicism rising out of Roman, Eastern, and English Catholicism. It would seem that Bell is syncretistic. Bible quotations are taken from the King James version; hymns and the book of prayer referred to are Protestant. Of the four things "a Catholic looks at," only the state is viewed exactly as a Catholic (Roman) would view it. Well-composed, interesting, pertinent to the questions of the day, the book goes far in presenting a simplified account of modern problems. (W. J. SCHIFFERLI.)

BELLENEY, Chanoine, JOSEPH, *Sainte Bernadette, Bergère en Chrétienté.* (Paris, La Bonne Presse, 1936, pp. 205.) The author in this volume merely narrates the story of the apparitions of Lourdes. The title is somewhat deceiving, since we are merely given the account of Bernadette's struggles with the local ecclesiastical and civil authorities, with no mention made of her life as novice and nun of Nevers. The introductory chapter traces the history of Lourdes from the time of Caesar to the apparitions of 1858 in such a manner as to have the reader believe that God had some special design respecting the place. The book should have a special appeal to the young. (LEON BAISIER.)

BEMIS, SAMUEL FLAGG, *A Diplomatic History of the United States.* (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1936, pp. xii, 881, $4.00.) Under this modest title the Farnham Professor of Diplomatic History in Yale University has presented us with an admirable synthesis of modern knowledge in the entire field of American diplomacy. Professor Bemis has struck a happy mean between the demands of scholarship on the one hand and the practical needs of the average student on the other. This volume, used in conjunction with his recent *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States*, should satisfy the most critical on all major points. Used by itself, it affords a more than usually comprehensive story of America's relations with the rest of the world. Of particular interest and value are the fifty-three maps, tables and and diagrams that accompany and supplement the text. They are well chosen and admirably executed. Map no. 8 is the finest visual illustration of the northwest and northeast boundary controversies that this reviewer has seen. (JOHN J. MENG.)

BENIANS, E. A., *John Fisher.* (London, Cambridge University Press, 1935, pp. 41, 1/—.) In a lecture delivered on the occasion of the Quatercentenary

Celebration by Queen's, Christ's, St. John's, and Trinity Colleges, the master of St. John's pays glowing tribute to John Fisher, its founder. Though not a Humanist himself, Fisher encouraged the New Learning, hoping for a return to spirituality in religion. The cares of Church and State did absorb him, but not to the exclusion of watchfulness over his colleges. Fisher is portrayed, not in his rôle of the great churchman, but in that of the great educator. The story of his advancement of Cambridge by influence with the royal party, by untiring efforts, by personal sacrifices, is succinctly told in this brochure. References, wherever necessary, are included. (W. J. SCHIFFERLI.)

BOEREN, P. C., *Étude sur les tributaires d'Église dans le comté de Flandre du IX au XIV siècle.* (Amsterdam, Holland, H. J. Paris, 1936, pp. xxvi, 184.) This is a doctoral dissertation of the Catholic University of Amsterdam in which the author studies the "servage tributaire d'Eglises" in Flanders from the ninth to the fourteenth century. In his first chapter he tries to determine if the "tributaire" meant a temporal or a spiritual dependence. According to his findings an "affranchissement" judicially speaking, did not create a "servage tributaire." This class of "tributaires" did not come over night but grew and developed with the formation of ecclesiastical domains. These existed previous to the tenth century. But they did not have a religious character as some believe; they were merely the object of the "dominium" of the church. Were these tributaires free or serfs? According to all the charts which he was able to consult, Boeren is forced to conclude: "Les incapacités et la nature de ces obligations prouvent assez que les tributaires étaient de condition servile, quoique dans un degré assez restreint." The social condition of these "tributaires d'église" is fully discussed in the fourth chapter. The author shows that they were principally rural, that most of them were born "sur les domaines et les labourent en equalité de tenanciers." There are many charts and texts dating of the ninth century which deal with these tributaires. As an appendix, the author prints 87 charts heretofore unpublished. He has a bibliography of twelve pages which is of great value to any student of the history or Northern France and Southern Belgium. The treatment which he gives to the subject is very clear. This dissertation is a real contribution to that part of Europe which has been so sadly neglected. (LEON BAISIER.)

BOUFFIER, GABRIEL, *La Vénérable Servante de Dieu, Anna-Maria Taïgi.* (Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1935, pp. 289.) On January 8, 1863, the Sacred Congregation of Rites decreed that the cause of Anna-Maria Taïgi should be brought forth for canonization. This bit of news was heartily welcomed in Rome and elsewhere; every one expected to see her modest virtues extolled by the Church. There were a number of miracles to further her cause, but for special reasons the case of her beatification came to a stop. It has been again considered during the past two years. Hence this work.

Often one expects fasts and extraordinary acts in the lives of those that the Church calls saints. The life of Anna-Maria is simple. She freely gave herself to God and during her whole life she did nothing else but practice the virtues of faith, hope, and charity. This deep faith brought out some

extraordinary facts. During the events of July, 1830, she saw in Rome the things which were happening in Paris, and she kept her director informed of them. She was supernaturally directed to have the last sacraments given to Pius VII when no one suspected that he was in danger of death. There were several other revelations in her life, which Rome is now studying and which the author merely mentions. The reading of this life is interesting because of this supernatural element, but also because of the simplicity of the life of Anna-Maria. (P. G.)

BROWN, GEORGE T., *The Gas Light Company of Baltimore: A Study of Natural Monopoly.* [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LIV, No. 2.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936, pp. 112, xiv, $1.00.) By presenting the history of the Gas Light Company of Baltimore from its inception in 1816, through its consolidations, to the establishment of the public service commission in 1910, this dissertation illustrates the nature and characteristics of the natural monopoly. The reason why industrial monopolies—"businesses superior to the regulating force of competition"—exist, is clearly stated and explained. Natural monopolies occur in those businesses in which, by their nature, competition cannot be maintained. These are "industries of increasing returns." If 2X capital and labor are expended to result in 2Y product, an application of 3X capital and labor would result in more than 3Y product. Increase in production means decrease in cost. Plurality of producers brings economic loss. Where one producer exists, it would be cheaper to enlarge his plant rather than build a new one. The necessarily smaller production in the new plant would raise the cost. Industries of this class are inherently monopolistic, and to this class belonged the Gas Light Company of Baltimore. The work of J. S. Mill, H. C. Adams, and Farrar, in the theory of the natural monopoly is well correlated by the author, and applied to the history of this gas company. He has added to his amply-documented, accurate presentation of facts and his logical inductions, a certain facility of exposition and expression. (W. J. SCHIFFERLI.)

BÜNGER, FRITZ, *Admonter Totenroteln (1442-1496).* [*Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Mönchtums und des Benediktinerordens. . . .* Heft 19.] (Münster in Westfalen, Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935, pp. viii, 400, RM. 14.62.) Another valuable study is in this monograph added to the already imposing series issuing under the editorial supervision of Ildefons Herwegen, abbot of Maria-Laach. The importance of the present contribution may be appreciated from its contents: the necrologies contain the names of persons from nearly eight hundred monasteries situated in thirty-four dioceses in Austria, Germany, Switzerland, and Belgium. In addition to the entries of the departed who were to be piously commemorated the documents studied are unusually rich in collateral data, such as the citations of patrons of churches, donations, the names of associated laymen, liturgical memoranda. Who does not know the value of necrological entries even when they are very meagre? In these rich items, conveniently and critically edited and provided with much helpful apparatus, the investigator of the late

medieval period will find material enabling him to make deductions about communications, highways, rapidity of travel, and many other remotely related items. The study is well supplemented bibliographically. (F. J. T.)

CALLAHAN, Rev. EUGENE J., *What Religion Gives to Life.* (New York, The Paulist Press, 1936, pp. 47.) This is a neat and concise brochure containing the five talks which the author gave over the radio under the auspices of "the Church of the Air." In them, Father Callahan shows how needful are the virtues of courage, joy, charity, obedience, and reverence in the realization of life's purposes. With clearness, candor, and completeness he further points out how the truths of the Catholic religion are to be the basis of these virtues if they are to realize their purpose in the life of man. (L. L. MCVAY.)

Camden Miscellany. Vol. XVI; Camden Third Series, Vol. LII. (London, the Society, 1936, pp. vii, 47, ix, 45, xiv, 128, xviii, 55, viii, 15.) The contents are: the *State of England* (1600), by Sir Thomas Wilson, edited by F. J. Fisher; *Discours of the Turkes*, by Sir Thomas Sherley (1606-1607), edited by Sir E. Denison Ross; *Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties* (1605), edited by L. G. Wickham Legg; *Supplementary Stiffkey Papers* (*1578-1620*), edited by F. R. Brooks; and the *Probate Inventory of Sir John Eliot, Late Prisoner in the Tower* (1633), edited by Dr. Harold Hume. (L. F. S.)

CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, *Report of the Annual Meeting, May 26-27, 1936.* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1936, pp. 132.) The historical papers printed concern the Military Reputation of Maj.-Gen. James Wolfe, presidential address of E. R. Adair; Les Députés de la Vallée de l'Ottawa: John Simpson (1788-1873), by Francis J. Audet; Sir Charles Bagot and Canadian Boundary Questions, by the Rev. William O. Mulligan; Public Opinion and the McLeod Case, by Albert B. Corey; an Unsolved Problem of Canadian History, by F. G. Roe, being the "sudden and highly spectacular change in the route of the first Canadian railway to the Pacific"; the Geographical Approach to European History, by Griffith Taylor; Faux et Faussaires en Histoire Canadienne, by Gustave Lanctot; Some Aspects of the *Komagata Maru* affair, 1934, by Eric W. Morse; Le 17 ou le 18? (whether Montreal was founded May 17 or 18, 1642), by Arthur Saint Pierre; and the work of the National Parks Branch in Preserving Canada's Historic Past. (L. F. S.)

CAPPON, LESTER J., Archivist and Assistant Professor of History in the University of Virginia, *Virginia newspapers, 1821-1935; a Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes.* Guide to Virginia Historical Materials, Part I. [University of Virginia: Institute for Research in the Social Sciences. Institute Monograph, No. 22.] (New York and London, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936, pp. xiii, 299, $5.00.) This latest contribution to the expanding list of Virginia bibliographical guides (such as the present compiler's *Bibliography of Virginia History since 1865*, 1930, and the *Virginia Historical Index*, by E. G. Swem, 1934-36, 2 vols.) is a work of much value to the investigator of Virginia social, economic, and political history. It is well arranged and

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carefully compiled. The "Historical Introduction" of 32 pages traces the development of Virginia journalism, summarizes the political trend and influence of the leading newspapers, characterizes the most notable of the Virginia editors, and discusses at some length the influence of the press in respect to secession and its vicissitudes during the war. The volume lists 1,763 newspapers, beginning with the year 1820, omitting the earlier period which is already covered in the well-known compilation of American newspapers through the year 1820, by Dr. Clarence S. Brigham, published in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society. The general arrangement is alphabetical, according to the place of publication rather than by title of newspaper. Bibliographical annotations include the essential data in regard to each newspaper, such as date of establishment, political policy (if any), names of editors, period of publication, and locations of files in libraries throughout the country, mainly of course in Virginia. An alphabetical list of titles, giving place of publication, is a useful key to the geographical listing of the bibliography itself. The format of the volume is good, the items are numbered clearly, and are well set off from each other, thus avoiding the confused and overly condensed appearance of some bibliographies. A specifically Catholic newspaper described is the *Catholic Visitor*, published at Richmond (No. 1230 of the bibliography). (GRACE G. GRIFFIN.)

CARMINATI, CESAR, *Vie de la Bienheureuse Barthélémie Capitanio.* (Paris, Bonne Presse, 1936, pp. 164.) This interesting biography is the history of the formation, the transformation, the mystical ascension of the soul of Barthélemy Capitanio. She lived only twenty-six years; nothing exceptional marks her life. She was born in a small village and knew little of the outer world. The secret of her greatness can be given in one line of Saint Paul, "Magna res amor est." Her whole life was based on charity, all her actions seem to have been animated by that principle. She laid the foundation for a religious congregation which is now called Sisters of Charity. In 1866, Pius IX signed the decree introducing her cause for canonisation. In order that she might be raised to the degree of Venerable, two miracles were needed. The first one occurred in one of the members of the congregation which she had founded, and the other also in a religious. In 1926, Pius XI declared her among the Blessed. This little book should do much to foster the devotion to Blessed Barthélemie Capitanio among the children as it is specially adapted for them. (LEON BAISIER.)

CAVAINAC, EUGÈNE, *Politique Mondiale* (*1492-1757*). (Paris, F. de Boccard, 1934, pp. 163.) In this volume of the *Histoire du Monde*, the learned author lays a foundation for the requisite knowledge towards the study of world politics since the nineteenth century. He rightly emphasizes the point that before 1500 there was fundamental unity of the Christian world from Portugal to Poland, from Naples to Sweden. It was a grand cultural unit. Similarly there were distinct areas marked by particular civilizations of the Musalman world, those of India, China, and Russia as well as the land of the Tartars. Dividing the work in various periods, the author has discussed important issues—Turkish problems, American problems, Russian Tartar

questions, and problems of Europe. In the history of European expansion, Spain and Portugal played dominant rôles till 1680, Holland till 1660, France till 1730, and Britain established her preponderance by 1770. In 1757, by the battle of Plassey, Clive established British supremacy in Bengal and laid firm foundation of British expansion in, and control of, India. Today the British empire, with a population of about 500 millions, centers in India where 350 millions live; and it forms the most important source of raw materials, markets and stragetic position for the very existence of the empire. India and China will play their part in the future of world politics. The work may be rightly called an indispensible introduction to world politics of the nineteenth century and after. (TARAKNATH DAS.)

CAZALES, Abbé de, *La douloureuse passion de N. S. Jésus-Christ, d'après les méditations d'Anne-Catherine Emmerich.* (Paris, Téqui, 1934, pp. 376, 15 fr.) These meditations on the Passion of our Lord were gathered by Clement Brentano from the oral narration of Anne-Catherine Emmerich (1774-1819). The Abbé de Cazales presents to French readers a complete translation of the German original of the meditations of this poor peasant daughter who later became an Augustinian. This book, it is true, offers interesting reading, but "no more value should be attributed to it than is granted by the Church to books of this kind. They are edifying and conducive to piety; that is their purpose." This 46th edition is published without the usual *imprimatur.* (PAUL A. BARRETTE.)

CHAIX-RUY, JULES, *Le Jansénisme, Pascal et Port-Royal.* (Paris, Alcan, 1936, pp. 167.) Pascal's reputation as a classic is well established; critics are unanimous in their praise of the literary qualities of his *Provinciales* and his *Pensées.* However, his position as a theologian is still the subject of much controversy. Mr. Chaix-Ruy, as a severe critic of the doctrines of Jansenism, attempts to minimize Pascal's affiliation with this unorthodox form of Christianity. Pascal, it is true, became a Jansenist, by accident; he wrote the *Provinciales* under the guidance and inspiration of fervent Jansenists. But it is doubtful that the Letters, a product of his "première conversion," contain, as Mr. Chaix-Ruy contends, nothing personal but the style. The author knows the *Pensées* too well to quote passages that would show traces of Jansenism. He fails, moreover, to comment sufficiently on Pascal's system of apologetics, based on the method of immanence. Furthermore, it does not appear quite clear that Pascal had a personal doctrine, different from his Jansenistic doctrine. (PAUL A. BARRETTE.)

CULLEN, Rev. THOMAS F., *The Catholic Church in Rhode Island.* (Providence, R. I., 299 Fruit Hill Avenue, 1936, pp. 482.) Embellished by an eloquent Foreword written by His Excellency, the Most Reverend Francis P. Keough, D. D., Bishop of Providence, this timely volume traces the life of the Catholic Church in the state of Rhode Island "from the days when Catholics were few and far between within its own borders down to the present, when evidences of her vigor and influence are to be seen everywhere." The bibliography reveals the fact that a certain number of printed works on the subject have

appeared up to our day, chief of which is the late Archbishop Dowling's chapter in the *History of the New England States* (Vol. 1, 351-437, Boston, 1899). Father Cullen's purpose has been not only to bring the subject up to date for the tercentenary of Rhode Island but also to supplement by means of new material our knowledge of the Church in his State. As a diocesan history the book is well constructed. An introductory chapter contains a good summary of what may be called medieval America. Then follows a discussion of the question of the priority of Maryland or Rhode Island in religious equality. The general history centers properly around the bishops who guided the Church in that portion of New England (Carroll, Cheverus, Fenwick, Tyler, O'Reilly, McFarland, Hendricken, Harkins, Hickey, and the present Ordinary, the Most Rev. Francis P. Keough, D. D.). Seven chapters on the parishes of the diocese follow these biographical sketches, and then are treated in excellent detail the religious Orders of men and women who have labored in Rhode Island. As Bishop Keough says in his Foreword the book "represents a conscientious, sustained, laborious effort to present the unbroken continuity of our religion, to revive an interest in our precious local traditions and to evaluate justly the Catholic contribution to the welfare of the State." (P. G.)

CURTAYNE, ALICE, *Jean-Baptiste Debrabant.* (Paterson, N. J., St. Anthony Guild Press, 1936, pp. ix, 72.) This is the story of the founder of the Sisters of the Holy Union of the Sacred Hearts, who are celebrating this year the fiftieth anniversary of their existence in the United States. Aside from its literary merits, this little work is a valuable addition to our increasing knowledge of the beginnings and development of our religious institutes. It is particularly valuable because there is very little in English on this splendid community of women who have done so much for Christian education in Europe, Africa, and in the two Americas. Jean-Baptiste Debrabant lived in the years following the French Revolution. He came of a poor family, received a poor education, possessed few talents, recognized his own mediocrity, suffered great trials, both of soul and body, experienced ingratitude, injustice, even persecution—and yet refused to be thwarted in his sublime purposes of bettering the condition of those around him. And yet so heroic a life is little known outside the community he founded; in fact, his name is missing from most encyclopedias and books of reference. Miss Curtayne declares that there is insufficient published material upon which to base a satisfactory biography. A reading of her work, however, should inspire someone to investigate the archives of the Order at Tournai and give the full story of this really great priest whose Cause for canonization is being considered. (JOSEPH B. CODE.)

DAU, FREDERICK W., *Florida, Old and New.* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1934, pp. 377.) This volume covers the four centuries of Florida's history. About one-third of it is devoted to the Spanish period, ending with the year 1783. It is evident that for this period the author has by no means made a critical use of all the available Spanish sources, though he quotes a few of them. Consequently in this portion of the volume there are numerous defects, errors as well as inaccuracies. Apparently the author was better

equipped for, and better acquainted with, the period after 1783. The bibliography, which is quite extensive, contains interesting, though not equally valuable, items in the appended "supplementary list of exceedingly rare books and pamphlets relating to the history of Florida." Though to judge from what he offers the author was diligent in gathering material, his contribution lacks the qualities of mature historical scholarship which calls for more than a mere concatenation of details. In format the volume leaves little to be desired. It is attractively bound and richly illustrated. Among the illustrations the charts and drawings deserve special mention. (F. B. STECK.)

DESGRIPPES, GEORGES, *Études sur Pascal: De l'Automatisme à la Foi.* (Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1936, pp. 135.) This work is of great value to the student of Pascal, even to the student of French literature as Degrippes gives a clear interpretation of the Faith according to Pascal. For the student of philosophy, this work should not be overlooked. The clarity of presentation of the material and its intepretation leave no doubt in the mind of the reader as to the meaning of the author. Georges Desgrippes shows himself a deep philosohper, a scholar, and a first class student of Pascal. (LEON BAISIER.)

DESMARAIS, M. M., O. P., *S. Albert le Grand, Docteur de la Méditation Mariale.* (Ottawa, Inst. d'Études Medievales, 1935, pp. 172.) The aim of the author is to gather the teachings of Saint Albertus Magnus on the Blessed Virgin, explain their meaning, and deduce from these what he terms "la méditation mariale." He does not strive to build up a theory "ad mentem Sancti Alberti," he merely aims to show how Mary was the "media" and the "via" according to the Great Doctor. In the appendix, the author gives a valuable critical bibliography of the works of Albertus Magnus. Historically this work gives us the conception of Mary as taught by Albertus Magnus; theologically, it is a sound evaluation of the doctrine of the Great Doctor; spiritually, it makes the reader love Mary as a Mother and a mediatrix of our redemption. (LEON BAISIER.)

DUCOS, A., *Sous le Col Bleu: Eugène Conort, 1896-1916.* (Paris, Bonne Presse, 1934, pp. 125.) This is the brief story of Eugène Conort, cabin boy at fifteen, quartermaster at eighteen, and killed in action at the age of twenty. (L. B.)

DUNHAM, WILLIAM HUSE, JR., *The Fane Fragment of the 1461 Lords' Journal.* [Yale Historical Publications, Manuscripts and Edited Texts, XIV.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1935, pp. xi, 109, $3.00.) A fifteenth-century Fane manuscript has been identified by William Huse Dunham as a portion of the journal of the House of Lords for the year 1461. The manuscript is a daily record from the Lords' Journals from November 28 to December 11. This original record is made available for students by reduced facsimiles. The facsimiles are followed by a text and an excellent commentary. Students in historical research will be interested in the commentary as it is a concrete illustration of the use of *diplomatic* in determining

date, originality and source of a manuscript. The historical value of the fragment lies in the revelation of the personnel and party affiliations of the members of the House of Lords, in the notation of parliamentary procedure, and in the development of constitutional forms. The carefully worked-out index, the foot-notes, and memoranda throughout the volume bear evidence of labor and scholarly precision. (Sr. MARY BERTRAND.)

DUPLESSY, Chanoine, EUG., *Le Pain des Grands.* (Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1935, pp. 316.) This is the first volume of a series whose aim is to present to the public what many scholars of the past ages and of the present day have said on the vital question of religion. This first volume is devoted to the question of dogma. The work should prove valuable for preachers and those interested in the Evidence Guild. (L. B.)

ELLIS, EMILY FARRINGTON, *The Life and Religion of the Early Hebrews.* (Boston, The Beacon Press, 1936, pp. 48.) This little work is unit No. 1 of the Beacon Units in Religious Education, a series being prepared by the members of the Teachers College of Columbia University and some of the professors of Union Theological Seminary. The first unit presents a plan for the study of the early Hebrews, their life and their religion. The project as actually carried out at the Sunday school of Riverside Church, New York City, is described in detail. Catholic teachers will find many suggestions and hints on methods locked up in this little work. Pages 29 to 33 show too plainly the need of a good grasp of how dogma is basic to the moral laws of conduct. The need of authority in religious education is also strongly suggested here by its very absence. (L. L. MCVAY.)

FERGUSON, WALLACE K., and BRUNN, GEOFFREY, *A Survey of European Civilization.* (Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1936, pp. xcii, 1023.) This is a book intended as a text for undergraduates, but if used in Catholic colleges it should be used with care. Antiquated views regarding both the Church's place in world affairs and historical facts themselves make its value doubtful to the serious teacher of history in any school. We encounter the old attempt to isolate the medieval Church from that of apostolic times, the statement that Saint Peter was "the legendary founder of the Roman Church," and references to "the legend generally accepted in the Church" that "the Apostle Peter had been the first Bishop of Rome" (p. 46). Pope Innocent I is referred to as "Bishop Innocent I," undoubtedly the result of Professor Ferguson's apparent desire to show that the Bishop of Rome's supremacy dated only from the pontificate of Innocent I. The title of pope is used for the first time in connection with Leo the Great (440-461). The book is further marred by such timeworn expressions as "For half a century after Luther nailed his theses on the Church door at Wittenberg," etc., which is inexact as far as its implication goes, since theses are still being affixed, if not to doors at least to bulletin boards, as a preliminary to the granting of degrees at certain European universities of medieval origin.

The treatment of Queen Elizabeth is along the usual "official" lines: England took her first steps toward greatness during this reign; for years

the queen's life was in constant danger from Spanish Catholic plots; and the destruction(!) of the Armada marked a definite stage in the decline of Spain's power and prestige, while for England it was the beginning of a great era of ascendancy on the sea. These are the views that students of English history are coming to look upon as the most luxuriant of the fictions that have been woven around Queen Elizabeth. And when we read that "Elizabeth protected the unhappy queen (Mary Stuart) as long as she could, but at last, in 1587, she submitted to the popular demand and ordered her execution for treason" (p. 462), we are reminded of the good Queen Bess stories of our public high school days. Again we are forced to ask the question: When will the findings of scholars trickle into college and university texts? The portion of this book written by Professor Brunn has been done more objectively. There are twenty-nine maps, three genealogical tables, a partial list of European rulers from 714 to the present time, a list of the popes beginning with Alexander VII in 1655, and a bibliography that practically ignores what has been done by Catholic scholars in the whole historical field. A work of this kind convinces us all the more of the necessity of a first-class survey of European civilization that can be used without an accompanying manual of *corrigenda* in our Catholic schools. (JOSEPH B. CODE.)

FREUDENBERGER, THEODOR, *Augustinus Steuchus aus Gubbio, Augustinerchorherr und päpstlicher Bibliothekar (1497-1548) und sein literarisches Lebenswerk. [Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte . . . mit Unterstützung der Gesellschaft des Corpus Catholicorum. . . .* Heft 64-65.] (Münster in Westfalen, Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1936, pp. xvi, 412, RM 21.) While the German controversialists fought both the untractactable Erasmus and the incorrigible Luther, some Italians belabored both the Germans and their reforming compatriots. It was, indeed, an age of confusion. Steuchus, born of a noble family in Gubbio, Italy, and educated at Bologna, rose rapidly first in the community which he entered and then, as the circle of his acquaintances widened, to a place in the Church. After holding several positions at the papal court he became the librarian of the Vatican library which was then taking on its modern form. To this office, however, Steuchus paid less attention than to writing. Erasmus had attacked the current versions of the Scriptures. Steuchus issued numerous critiques and commentaries in typical humanistic style and at last tilted with the Dutchman himself. The Donation of Constantine had been challenged by Laurentius Valla and Steuchus rose, not very successfully, to defend that document. He published a tract of little merit against Luther and ventured also into the field of philosophy. With the facilities at his disposal and ready wit he was an opponent to be dreaded and a not inconsiderable figure in his day. Dr. Fraudenberger here presents a critical biography and estimate of Steuchus' literary work based on an exhaustive study both of the contemporary printed material and of the archival sources. Nevertheless he deals generously with his subject and perhaps rescues him from oblivion. Valuable is the appendix in which are listed Steuchus' printed and unprinted works and letters. (F. J. TSCHAN.)

GABORY, ÉMILE, *Sainte Anne d'Auray.* (Paris, Plon, 1935, pp. 250.) This little book aims principally to make known the existence of that little hamlet of Brittany which was born during the first century of the Church, forgotten, then again brought back to light a few centuries ago. Like Lourdes and Lisieu, this spot seems to have been chosen by God to make himself better known through miracles. Unlike Lourdes, Saint Anne is a desolated country, yet it has its appeal. The apparitions took place in 1623, twenty-five years before Brittany was torn between religious and political strife. Soon Saint Anne became like a torch in the midst of a dark night. The miracles which occurred, the apparitions, and the cures all awakened Brittany to the faith of its forefathers. *Saint Anne d'Auray* should be read by those interested in studies of religious history, by those interested in the history of Brittany, by those interested in the story of Saint Anne and her influence on the Breton. Since many Americans have a devoted fervor toward the saint, this book should be of interest to them as it gives them the story of the original Saint Anne d'Auray. (LEON BAISIER.)

GALTIER, PAUL, S. J., *L'Église et la Remission des Péchés aux premiers siècles.* (Paris, G. Beauchesne et Fils, 1932, pp. xii, 511.) This volume appears in the *Bibliothèque de Théologie Historique*, that excellent series dealing with theological problems from a strictly historical viewpoint published under the direction of the Faculty of Theology at the Institut Catholique of Paris. Its range is limited to the Latin church during the first six centuries. It treats of two problems and is divided into two sections between which an appendix concerning the true Edict of Callistus and the "incurable" sins of Origen forms a logical transition. The first problem is the value or the real significence of absolution in the eyes of the early Church. Was this looked upon merely as the lifting of a ban of excommunication, entitling the shriven to mingle once more with the faithful, or did absolution mean the remission of sin, presupposing proper dispositions and imposing subsequent temporal satisfaction on the part of the penitent? In other words, did ecclesiastical absolution mean a cleansing of the soul and reconciliation with God or merely a removal of legal stigma and reconciliation with the Church? By a painstaking analysis of texts the author shows that absolution meant then essentially what is means to the Church today. He never forces the meaning of a document in an uncritical attempt to find the precise theological elaboration of the thirteenth century in the writings of the ages of simpler faith. The doctrine was there essentially—absolution readmitted not only to church but also to the reception of the Body and Blood of Christ—but its finer theological implications had not yet been formally broached. The second section is devoted to discovering whether or not there existed in the early Church the practice of private penance.

The author inquires neither about the exact rite and manner of remitting sins nor the fact of a private remission of a fault before public penance. He contents himself with proving the simple fact that sins were forgiven apart from the discipline of public penance. His conscientious study is minutely detailed and less brilliant than that of many of his adversaries.

But his patient research engenders a conviction which theirs do not create. He has forsaken the temptation of being brilliant in order to be simple, profound, and exhaustive. He is an historian in the very best sense of the term. (JOHN F. FINNEGAN.)

GILBERT, DAN, *The Biblical Basis of the Constitution.* (San Diego, California, The Danielle Publishers, 1936, pp. 83.) In this book Mr. Gilbert steps from the scientific-religious sphere of his previous writings into a legal sphere. There is no doubt that, as he claims, the Constitution is founded, in part, on the natural law as expressed in the Decalogue. But historical inaccuracies are to be found, as *e. g.*: "In no other country (except England and America) has the Decalogue been accepted as a Law to be obeyed by rulers as well as ruled." What of the people to whom the Decalogue was given? Some of his comparisons are apt, as when he compares the commands against stealing and killing in the Decalogue to that part of the Constitution which reads: "No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." Others are singularly inapt. He identifies the command, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" with these words of the Constitution: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." The style of the book is full of trite phrases, and an overwhelming amount of alliteration. Biblical texts quoted are taken from the King James version. Mr. Gilbert deduces that the present assault on the Constitution is a phase of the attack on the moral truths of the Bible. This is not fully substantiated. The author has shown that great moral principles are embodied in the Constitution, which thus deserves our "respect akin to reverence." Had he been writing from a Catholic viewpoint, he might have shown that the principles were inculcated at the instigation of Catholics, with the example of Maryland in their minds. (W. J. SCHIFFERLI.)

HAMILTON, EARL J., PH. D., Professor of Economics in Duke University, *Money, Prices and Wages in Valencia, Aragon and Navarre, 1351-1500.* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1936, pp. xiii, 310, $4.50.) This book which is volume 51 of the Harvard Economic Studies is the second of three volumes by the same author planned to cover the subject of money, prices, and wages in Spain down to the year 1800. The first volume entitled *American Treasure and Price Revolution in Spain, 1501-1650,* appeared in 1934. Appendices covering 86 pages present statistics of coinage, commodity prices, and wages taken from contemporaneous documents. There are eight pages of bibliography of printed sources and manuscripts examined. The latter half of the 14th century had been a period of rapidly rising prices here as generally throughout western Europe. The falling prices noted by other students in France and England throughout most of the fifteenth century are to be found also in the Spanish kingdoms here studied when prices are measured in gold. But the fall in prices measured in the money of account was much less here. Debasement of the coinage contributed towards a stabilization of prices. In general, wages appeared to lag behind prices in periods of falling prices but not in periods of rising prices. (FRANK O'HARA.)

HARDMAN, Sister ANNE, S. N. D., *English Carmelites in Penal Times.* (London, Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1936, pp. xiii, 216, 15 s.) This well-written and important book adds to our knowledge of the English exiles on the Continent during the penal days. It also reveals the heroic determination of the English Carmelites to give the rule and spirit of St. Teresa an honorable place in the history of the religious communities of the diaspora after the foundation of the first English Carmel at Antwerp on May 1, 1619. This monastery sprang directly from the then new Teresian Reform. Its foundress had been trained by two of Saint Teresa's own companions, Anne of St. Bartholomew and Anne of Jesus, and it is to this prioress, Mother Anne of the Ascension Worsley, that the author devotes the best part of three chapters of her book. This and other character studies of more than one remarkable Englishwoman are done with consummate skill. Although there are several sketches of women of gentle birth, one of the loveliest is that of Sister Alexia of St. Winifrede, formerly a poor Welsh serving maid. But the importance of this work lies in the fact that it has been written from hitherto unpublished documents in the Vatican, Belgian, French, English and American archives. To the American historian it will be particularly valuable in that it gives the necessary European background to the Carmelite foundations in this country. It was the English Carmels of Antwerp and Hoogstraeten that sent Sisters to America to found its first Carmel at Port Tobacco, Maryland. The author tells the story of the American foundation and gives the picture of what remains of the Port Tobacco monastery and that of Mother Clare Joseph Dickinson whom the Carmelites of Baltimore, the successors to those of Port Tobacco, regard as their foundress. An informative preface is provided by Father Benedict Zimmerman, O. C. D., in which he describes the different views held by Calced and Discalced Carmelites regarding practices and the Constitution, a chapter in Carmelite history that should find a place in a work of this sort. A list of prioresses, copious notes, and an index add to the value of the book. (JOSEPH B. CODE.)

HEALY, EVE, *The Life of Mother Mary Potter, Foundress of the Congregation of the Little Company of Mary.* (London, Sheed and Ward, 1935, pp. 274.) One needed to have lived in Rome during Mother Mary Potter's last years to realize fully the place she occupies today in the history of Catholic religious life and Catholic social welfare. To the reviewer, who had the happiness of many a talk during her last illness, this book reveals in a strikingly accurate way the marvelous personality of a nun who was known to everyone in the civic and ecclesiastical life of the Eternal City. Born in London in 1847, Mary Potter was betrothed at the age of twenty, but soon broke off the engagement to enter the novitiate of the Sisters of Mercy at Brighton. Two years later, she left the community to the great joy of her family and, after a further period of spiritual trials, founded in Nottingham (1877) the Little Company of Mary for the purpose of "nursing the sick and dying in honour of the Maternal Heart of Our Blessed Lady on Calvary." The story of the community's beginnings is a tragic one when viewed in the light of the wealth of the Catholics of England of that day; but once Pope

Leo XIII, to whom she had gone in 1882 to obtain the approval of the Company's constitutions, invited her to make Rome the headquarters of her Society, success began and foundations were made between 1884 and 1935 in Rome, Sydney, Florence, Limerick, Chicago, Malta, London, Fiesoli, Adelaide, Port Elizabeth (South Africa), New Zealand, Buenos Aires, Edinburgh, Carlow and elsewhere in the British possessions. During her last illness—she died on April 8, 1913—Pope Pius X sent a special blessing by Cardinal Merry del Val and the Dowager Queen Margherita who always had a great admiration for her, sent her lady-in-waiting, the Marchesa Villamarina, with an affectionate message of sympathy. "Calvary Hospital" on Monte Celio is as well-known to hundreds of American priests who studied in Rome, as St. Peter's itself; and for this valiant woman who during sixty years ministered through her spiritual daughters to hundreds of thousands of sick and dying in so many parts of the world, a grateful memory will always exist. The little Life is well written, is restrained, and is a model of attractive biography. (P. G.)

HUFNAGEL, ALFONS, *Studien zur Entwicklung des thomistischen Erkenntnisbegriffes im Anschluss an das Correctorium "Quare."* [*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters*, Band XXXI, Heft 4.] (Münster in Westfalen, Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935, pp. viii, 131.) St. Thomas' philosophical and theological views were not at once universally accepted. The savants divided into groups in defense of his teachings or in opposition to them. Numerous were the shades of disagreement with him. On the advice of the professors of the Scriptures at Paris, the bishop even went so far as to condemn some writings among which were those, although not specifically named, of St. Thomas. Even the Dominican archbishop of Canterbury, Kilwardby, joined St. Thomas' opponents. (Cf. Sharp, *New Scholasticism*, VIII [1934], 306-316.) Among the items then in dispute, the one concerning intelligence aroused the most interest. Nevertheless the history of this controversy has not been adequately traced. Dr. Hufnagel modestly holds that his study is only introductory. Besides the various decretals of prelates (collected by Denifle) he has made special use of the manuscript *Correctorium* ascribed to William de la Mare, more probably, according to Grabmann and the author, to the Franciscan group at Oxford. The *Correctorium corruptorii Quare* produced by St. Thomas' own students, probably also seated at Oxford, and other manuscripts preserved at Basel and Berlin are brought into play and systematically compared with the Thomistic statements in the *Summa Theologica* and other works. (F. J. T.)

INGOLD, Dom A. M. P., *Général et Trappiste, Le P. Marie-Joseph Baron de Géramb, (1772-1848)*. (Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1935, pp. 350.) The baron Ferdinand de Géramb, born at Lyons in 1772, Spanish general, chamberlain of the emperor Francis I, who died in Rome in 1848 as an humble Trappist, is one of the most curious figures that one can imagine. During the first part of his life, he ran into all sorts of adventures, tasted of all sorts of sin, and bitterly hated God. But God had his ways. At Husum in Denmark while waiting for some money from his sister he read a few pages of the *Imitation*

and of the Gospels. He was then forty. He paid his debtors, and planned on returning to Vienna, but upon Napoleon's orders he was arrested, and was sent to the prison of Vincennes in the company of a few prelates. The soul of the general had been filled with sad deception, and upon contact with Mgr. de Boulogne, his soul like a dried earth received the necessary dew. His conversion brought spiritual perfection and atonement for his past. When asked what he intended to do he answered: "Je veux, comme les convertis du Moyen Age, aller en Terre Sainte, et expier sous la bure d'un simple frère mineur, les égarements d'une vie trop longue et trop coupable." But having heard of the Trappists, he went to Val-Sainte and became a monk. This general, former favorite of the queen of Naples, scrubbed the monastery stairs, was subjected to all sorts of humiliations, all sorts of privations. But he submitted himself, he was a great general in the Spanish army, but a far greater one in God's army. (LEON BAISIER.)

JARRETT, BEDE, O. P., *Life of St. Dominic.* (London, Burns, Oates & Washbourne Limited, 1934, pp. 179.) The life of the founder of the Order of Preachers from the pen of the late provincial of the English Dominicans, first appeared in 1924 and has been given a second edition. Father Jarrett's work treats the subject in the modern biographical manner. With more popular appeal than Drane's *History of St. Dominic* (1891) and the *St. Dominic* by Jean Guiraud (1901), it is the leading English biography of the Hallowed Wrestler. In four swift chapters, preceded by a good chronology, the author relates the boyhood of the Saint, the Albigensian heresy, the origin and early development of the Dominican nuns, and the foundation of the Order. The story pauses for two succeeding chapters while a study is made of the characteristics of Dominic's preaching and prayer. "The Order Organized" and "His Companions" form the materials of chapters VII and VIII. "His Portrait" (chapter IX) and "His Death" (chapter X) are written with unusual delicacy and spirit. The book ends with a short appendix in which sources are enumerated. (J. J. MCLARNEY, O. P.)

KIDGER, HORACE, *Directed Studies in American History.* Revised Edition. (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1936, pp. vi, 190, $0.56.)

FOSTER, I. P. and SEEHANSEN, PAUL, *Workbook to Accompany Hayes and Moon's "Modern History."* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1935, pp. 176, $0.40.)

WEAVER, ROBERT, *Students' Workbook and Guide in Modern History.* (New York, Silver Burdett Company, 1936, pp. x, 214, $0.76.)

Intended for use in conjunction with particular text-books, these workbooks will prove of help both to teacher and pupil alike. (J. B. C.)

KNOX, RONALD A., *The Holy Bible: an Abridgement and Rearrangement.* (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1936, pp. xvi, 620.) Father Knox's purpose in this attractive rearrangement of Holy Scripture is to furnish what the Archbishop of Westminster calls in his foreword—a "ground-plan of the Bible." It is not an expurgated version nor is it an anthology of favorite passages, but a briefer, more connected and more intelligent recension. "It

is a plain fact," Father Knox writes, "that most people do not read the Bible. And the reason for this neglect lies partly in the successful effort made by modern publishing to suit the reader's convenience, offering him books that are light to the hand, print that is easily legible, and saving his eye from the effort of so much travelling to and fro. The mere mechanical act of reading the Bible is unconsciously burdensome by comparison. And its length is such as to deter all but the most heroic from reading it as a single book with a single message" (p. vii). Father Knox has reduced the text of the Bible to about one-third of its present length. The dominating canon of selection is the teaching of Holy Scripture from Genesis to Apocalypse on man's redemption. All that does not directly bear upon this lesson has been omitted, and Father Knox has even rearranged "the order of the sacred books in making his selection from them" (p. viii). It is his hope that this abridgement and rearrangement may tempt some to read the Bible as it were at one sitting, that "it may help others, more casual readers, to find their way about it more easily, that it may give those who read . . . a daily portion, the sense that they are going on where they left off yesterday, and that they have reached such and such landmarks in the course of the year" (p. viii). The book is a fine specimen of the typographical art. The print is clear and distinct and there are two serviceable maps. (P. G.)

KRUGER, GERDA, *Die Rechtsstellung der vorkonstantinischen Kirchen.* [*Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen* . . . herausgegeben von Ulrich Stutz . . . mitherausgegeben von Johannes Heckel, Heft 115-116.] (Stuttgart, Verlag von Ferdinand Enke, 1935, pp. viii, 336, RM. 19.) The legal status of the Church in its congregational units has long engaged the attention of historians of institutions. Mommsen had recourse to Tertullian when in 1848 he advanced the proposition that the Christian religious groups could be classed in Roman Law as a sub-group of the funerary *collegia*. De Rossi expanded this proposition in 1864. Since then the question has been discussed pro and con, with the Catholic historians sometimes in opposition to the Mommsen-de Rossi hypotheses. Dr. Kruger goes further in his thesis. Drawing upon a variety of sources, patristic, legal, archaeological, etc., he holds that the congregations were organized under general laws permitting private persons to form associations. The Christian congregations were not *collegia tenuiorum seu funeraticia* but pious associations. The persecuting emperors, notably Valerian and Diocletian, merely invaded the legal rights of the groups or dissolved them in order to accomplish their designs. The edicts of Galerius and Constantine were but revocations of the decrees of the persecutors. Then the Christian organizations recovered their rights, public and private, under the law to hold property, to make contracts, to sue and be sued, etc. The limits set this review permit only the observation that some of the evidence appears to be put to strenuous use and all difficulties are not clearly met. However, Dr. Kruger promises a more thorough-going study of the topic. (F. J. TSCHAN.)

LABAREE, LEONARD WOODS (Ed.), Assistant Professor of History in Yale University, *Royal Instructions to British Colonial Governors, 1670-1776.* Two

volumes. [American Historical Association: Beveridge Memorial Fund.] (New York and London, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935, pp. xxv, ix, 937, $10.00.) The publication of these instructions fills the last important gap in materials illustrating the colonial administrative policy of the old British Empire. The *Calendar of State Papers*, the *Acts of the Privy Council*, the *Journals of the Board of Trade, the Royal Proclamations* relating to America, the *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, and the *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America* (all in various stages of completion) have each contributed to a better understanding of some phase of home control and polity. There remained unprinted, save in very small measure, the methods used by the agents of the crown in getting directly to the colonies what was desired. These instructions to the governors, therefore, illustrate both the disposition of the mother country in matters affecting colonial control and development, and the reaction at home to forces and trends colonial in origin.

Professor Labaree explains that the year 1670 is selected for the starting point, "because only then did the instructions . . . attain sufficient uniformity and regularity to make collation possible." By 1776, of course, most of the royal colonies had repudiated British authority. By an ingenious method which the scholar will not find too perplexing, duplication of instructions to more than one governor, variations in phraseology, etc., have been avoided; and because of the number of items the instructions are not arranged chronologically or by colony, but are grouped under topics, such as Legislation, Revenue, Justice, Military Affairs, Religion and Morals, Land, etc. A detailed explanation of method is given in the introduction and as a separate part of the book. The appendices print a list of royal governors and general instructions, some representative commissions in full, and some observations of governors on their instructions.

Among the instructions dealing with religion are several of interest: the governors of most of the colonies were directed "to permit a liberty of conscience to all persons *except Papists*" (in Maryland, these were in force, 1693-1703, and again 1703-1715); the governors of East and West Florida, Grenada, and Quebec were asked to transmit a report on Roman Catholic organizations; the same governors were forbidden "to admit of any ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the See of Rome"; protection was given to the Catholics in Jamaica, particularly to Father Thomas Churchill; and there are longer instructions on the subject of Catholicism and Protestantism in Nova Scotia, and on the position of the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec. (L. F. Stock.)

Lacoste, E., *Le P. François Picard (1831-1903)*. (Paris, Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1932, pp. vii, 550, 15 fr.) This biography of Father Picard, a native of Gard and the second superior-general of the Assumptionists, is a remarkable monument to the memory of a priest, gifted with invincible courage and boundless energy. During his term of office, the congregation developed rapidly; new houses were opened in Paris, Constantinople, and Chile. He took part in the founding of the Bonne Presse, was interested in vocations, and organized pilgrimages to Lourdes and Jerusalem. The Waldeck-Rousseau ministry dealt a deadly blow to his community but it failed to make

him deviate from his line of action; new data on this shameful period of the Third Republic are brought to light. Written with love and conviction, the book reveals a great and sincere soul; it is a powerful stimulus to Catholic Action. (PAUL A. BARRETTE.)

LANNING, JOHN TATE, *The Diplomatic History of Georgia: a Study of the Epoch of Jenkins' Ear.* [Publications of the University of Georgia, No. 2.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1936, pp. x, 275, $4.00.) The author of the *Spanish Missions of Georgia* here tells the story of the second and last phase of Spain's claim to that colony. Georgia was settled, it is true, as a philanthropic experiment, but a more practical motive was the attempt to set up a buffer territory between the English possessions to the north and the advancing Spaniard to the south. There were several military and diplomatic contests over the disputed area. Then began a period of so-called "Spanish depredations" in American waters which were protested by England as violations of existing treaties. Among the reported victims of Spanish cruelty was Capt. Jenkins of the *Rebecca* whose ear was cut off and ordered to be carried to King George with the message that if he were present the royal ears would be treated in similar manner. Jenkins was said to have carried his severed auricle, pickled and wrapped in cotton, with him and to have shown it in the House of Commons when he was summoned as a witness before that body. The story has been discounted and ridiculed, but documents printed in the *English Historical Review* in 1889 give it at least some semblance of possibility. At any rate the maimed captain's name has been associated with the war which ensued. The Georgia-Carolina boundary was one of the diplomatic issues.

Professor Lanning has probed deeply into the diplomacy of the countries involved. Archival materials have been abundantly and wisely employed to construct a story which, besides reading well, makes a definite contribution to the subject. The British parliamentary phase of this affair, which led to the downfall of Walpole, will be shown in greater detail with the appearance of the reviewer's volume of proceedings and debates for these years, now in press for Carnegie Institution of Washington. Probably one-half of that volume is concerned with documents giving accounts of the many incidents and long negotiations which preceded the declaration of war, together with the stirring debates which these provoked in both houses of Parliament. (L. F. STOCK.)

LAWLER, THOMAS B., *The Gateway to American History.* Revised Edition. (Chicago, Ginn and Company, 1936, pp. viii, 360, $0.96.)

Builders of America. Revised Edition. (Chicago, Ginn and Company, 1936, pp. vi, 371, $1.00.)

The background necessary even in the elementary grades for an adequate understanding and appreciation of American history is furnished in the *Gateway to American History.* Doctor Lawler does not merely relate happenings but portrays the fascinating story of America's inheritance from Ancient and Middle Ages in Europe. Through this approach American history is animated with new life and vigor. The suggested questions and map studies

furnish exercises for review while a short list of important dates at the end of each unit supplies an easy means for the pupils for review.

Builders of America, an elementary textbook for the fourth grade, offers an introduction to American history through the study of biography. These biographies include the most important characters around which the history of America is built. The arrangement of the book in unit plans and specific assignments for each lesson will be appreciated by the busy teacher. (S. R. B.)

LEAMY, MARGARET, *Parnell's Faithful Few.* (New York, Macmillan Co., 1936, pp. vii, 235, $2.50.) In a sincere, charming, and intimate manner, the wife of one of Ireland's patriots records the story of Charles Stuart Parnell. The bitterness and futility of the Irish Party's defection from their leader, at a time when Home Rule was within their grasp, is poignantly recalled. Few today personally remember those earlier political struggles with Gladstone over Home Rule. Mrs. Leamy was intimately connected with the personalities involved, and so had every opportunity to observe the circumstances from a vantage point. Fidelity to detail, coupled with a philosophic view of the issues at stake, enabled her to write a defense of Parnell and a tribute to those valiant men who backed him up with courageous moral strength. John and William Redmond, Tim Harrington, Richard Power, Edmund Leamy, and others who stood by Parnell in his hour of trial are, in this book, given commendation for their courage. Simple and intense, the story of "the uncrowned King of Ireland" contributes to a clear conception of the difficulties, dangers, and intrigues of Irish politics of half a century ago. (W. J. SCHIFFERLI.)

LINDEN, RAYMUND, *Die Regelobservanz in der rheinischen Kapuzinerprovinz von der Gründung bis zur Teilung, 1611-1668.* [*Franziskanische Studien*, Beiheft 16.] (Münster in Westfallen, Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935, pp. xii, 149.) This study supplements that of Father Arsenius T. Jacobs on the history of the Rhenish Capuchins from 1611 to 1725 (*Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texten*, Heft 62, 1935). After a careful analysis of what regulations then supplemented the rule of St. Francis, the author, Dr. Linden, proceeds to a critical study of their observance in this region during these troubled years. His sources are drawn largely from the archives of the Rhenish-Westfalian province of the Capuchins at Ehrenbreitstein and a variety of printed and unprinted records which, because the friars lived close to the people, also throw light on the life of the times under scrutiny. (F. J. T.)

MACKENZIE, COMPTON, *Catholicism and Scotland.* (London, George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1936, pp. ix, 188, 5 s.) It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of any attempt to shovel away the rubbish that has passed as English history for the past three hundred years. As far as Scotland is concerned, it is no more ridiculous to say that Saint Columba and his monks were good Covenanters than to deny that Scotland ceased to be a recognized European nation when it went over to the Reform; and yet both assertions are but examples of what is still being accepted as the true story of the Scottish race. This book is a short account of the Church in that country

and although sketchy and as a consequence inadequate in many respects, it is, nevertheless, a serviceable handbook for popular use. Not only should it go a long way in correcting some of the misconceptions under which the great bulk of Scots labor regarding the Catholic Church, but it should prove an incentive to honest investigation on the part of those who want to know the true history of their country. It is disappointing to note, however, that the chapters have no titles and that the running heads give no indication of the page subject matter. It is difficult to understand why so many English authors and publishers and why the author of this work should have countenanced such an unsympathetic blurb. (JOSEPH B. CODE.)

MCNEAL, EDGAR THOMAS (Tr.), *The Conquest of Constantinople.* Translated from the Old French of Robert of Clari. [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, XXIII.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1936, pp. (8), 150, $2.75.) The Greek east and the Latin west had long surveyed each other with hostile eyes. The reasons why are many and too involved for discussion within the limits necessarily set the present day reviewer. There were political and territorial differences as well as religious. And the attitude assumed by Byzantium during the Crusades affected even the masses in the west. It was not difficult to persuade a stranded crusading host to take Constantinople as part of a day's work while on crusade. The conquest of the city, however, stands out as one of the most remarkable and thrilling episodes of that age. Constantinople was naturally well defended and exceedingly rich commercially and in treasures of all kinds. Its capture inspired the well-known memoirs of Villehardouin. His account is that of the upper strata of the expedition. Robert of Clari's on the other hand reflects the mind of the lower strata. He was a simple knight, a vassal of Pierre of Amiens, not schooled but, like many others of his class, "open-eyed and open-mouthed in respect of the wonders he saw and heard in Constantinople." His *conte* is here translated literally but richly into English and equipped with notes and bibliography designed to make the ancient tale intelligible to the layman and to assist further study of it. Dr. McNeal's contribution is of interest also to the litterateur. The chronicle is nearly an oral story, simple, direct, naïve, an excellent specimen of the Old French prose literature which came into being in the thirteenth century. (F. J. TSCHAN.)

MARTINDALE, C. C., S. J., *The Foundress of the Sisters of the Assumption (Mother Marie-Eugènie Milleret De Brou).* (London, Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1936, pp. xiii, 154.) This popularly written biography is the unusual story of a foundress who had as a co-worker in the early days of the Institute a French Abbé, a "Chamaleon who Would Be Tsar," but whose devastating existence ended as a volcano when he was seventy-six, his lips pressed to the Crucifix. Indeed, Mother Marie-Eugenie's life stands out all the more wonderful when viewed in connection with that of her eccentric "director," the Abbé Combalot. A modern foundress whose convents have spread beyond France to other parts of Europe, to Africa, to Nicaragua, and to the Philippines, she gave to her community a love of the liturgy, of the Scriptures and of the Fathers of the Church, and saved it from becoming "a select assembly

of smart school-mistresses," the fate that threatens so many Orders that come in contact with the luxurious and fashionable). There are a number of many unusual things about this book, and so many prominent figures of the time, such as Dupauloup, Montalambert, Mme. de Chateaubriand, Wiseman, and Faber, whose paths crossed that of Mother Marie-Eugènie, that it should be a delight to religious and laity since Alice Lady Lovat's larger *Life of Mother Marie-Eugènie* has pased out of print and since the Cause of the foundress of the Sisters of the Assumption is well under way. (JOSEPH B. CODE.)

MARX, WALTER JOHN, *The Development of Charity in Medieval Louvain.* (Yonkers Collegiate Center, Yonkers, N. Y., 1936, pp. xvi, 124.) This interesting dissertation was undertaken upon the suggestion of Dr. Henry S. Lucas, of the University of Washington, and brought to completion after the author had spent sometime in Belgium where he benefitted by the advice of such experts in Belgian history as the late Professor Henri Pirenne and Professor Lèon Van der Essen. It is no surprise, therefore, that this monograph is an important contribution to the historical literature on Louvain, and yet this is only secondary since its chief value is the light it throws on medieval charity as exemplified in this great center of all things Catholic. A mere glance at the table of contents will give one an idea of the peculiar value of the work, e. g., Parish and Monastic Charity, The Municipal Hospital, The Leper House, Tables of the Holy Ghost, Hospices for Pilgrimages, Homes for the Aged, Tables for the Trancient Clergy as Medical Staff, etc. The text is well-documented, and the rather full, yet specialized, bibliography gives one the impression that Dr. Marx possesses a splendid knowledge of medieval charity throughout the Lowlands as well as at Louvain. The index is rather brief. (JOSEPH B. CODE.)

MONTALBAN, FRANCISCO J., S. J., *Das Spanische Patronat und die Eroberung der Philippinen.* (Freiburg i. B., Herder & Co., 1930, pp. 131.) Though concerned specifically with the Philippines, the volume contains valuable matter on the Spanish New World conquest in general. The study manifests tireless research and sound scholarship, though one may justly differ with some of the author's conclusions. There are two parts, the first discussing the right of the conquest ("Das Eroberungsrecht") and the second presenting the ideals of the conquest ("Ideale der Eroberung"). A praiseworthy feature, generally lacking in modern works of history, is the analytical table of contents. It not only evinces mastery and care on the part of the author but also aids one in following his line of thought and argument. In short, the study is a sound and scholarly contribution that deserves wider recognition among students of Hispanic-American history than it has apparently received. We regret that, due to an oversight on the part of the reviewer, attention to it was not given sooner in the pages of the REVIEW. (F. B. STECK.)

NAVARETTE, LIC FELIX, *La Lucha entre el Poder Civil y el Clero a la Luz de la Historia.* (El Paso, Revista Press, 1935, pp. 243.) This is a reply to what Emilio Portes Gil published in a brochure last year concerning the present conflict between the Church and the State in Mexico. Among serious-minded historians there can be no question as to who of the two

contestants in the present instance has the better of the argument. As a piece of historical writing, based on sound scholarship, this reply by Navarette is far superior to the brochure that occasioned it. The author wrote it with laudable impartiality, letting the facts speak for themselves and drawing these facts from the best available sources. To convince oneself of this, one need but glance at the rich bibliography appended to the study. Because of its quiet and scholarly tone it deserves to be translated into English and given wide publicity. (MAYNARD GEIGER.)

NEILSON, N., *Medieval Agrarian Economy.* (New York Henry Holt and Company, 1936, pp. vi, 106, $1.00.) According to the preface this little volume in the series of Berkshire Studies in European History is intended to supply a week's supplementary reading in a college course in European history. It is not intended to be "a contribution to historical literature in the scholarly sense." The opening chapter describes the two and three field systems and other variant agricultural forms. A second chapter on "the people of the village" explains the status of the various classes of unfree and free persons and their relations to the lord of the manor. The third and final chapter is on "the village in relation to king and church." It gives an account of the administration of justice in the various courts. It also tells briefly of the place of the church in the life of the people of the village. Illustrations are taken for the most part from English and French history. The book should serve well the purpose for which it is intended. (FRANK O'HARA.)

QUÉNARD, T. R. P. GERVAIS, *L'Evangile du Royaume de Dieu.* (Paris, Bonne Presse, 1935, pp. 419.) This book is a commentary on the New Testament, based on the sayings and deeds of Christ. (L. B.)

RAMSEY, ROBERT, *Richard Cromwell, Protector of England.* (New York, Longmanns, Green and Co., 1935, pp. 234, $4.20.) "You are the son of Cromwell . . . show yourself worthy to be his son." This admonition given by Howard, commander of the Life Guards during Richard Cromwell's administration, gives the keynote to the biography of Richard Cromwell. Heir to the government of Oliver Cromwell, for a brief eight months Richard held together the disintegrating Commonwealth, which owed its existence in great measure to his father. The usual portrait of a Richard, feeble and weak, too pliant and easy-going to stem the downfall of a tottering government fades away under the pen of Mr. Ramsey. Through the media of diaries, correspondence, and state papers the real Richard emerges. His easy temperament, pleasant manners, modesty, freedom from excessive display of piety, and sympathy for the unfortunate Royalists won for him the forbearance of his fellowmen. Richard's lack of martial training and contact with the army furnished opportunity for Monck and Fleetwood to plan the re-establishment of a military despotism. Mr. Ramsey adequately proves that nothing that Richard could have said or done would have stemmed the tide. "The seeds of decay were in the Protectorate before his father's death," says Mr. Ramsey. "Oliver's rule, in spite of his efforts to the contrary, had been that of the sword." The nation was weary of militarism and the Puritanical regime, therefore it welcomed a return to the old order and the monarchy.

Richard Cromwell with his natural aversion to violence and bloodshed had no desire to cling to power and preferred to be regarded as weak rather than retain his position by force. Exile shadowed twenty years of his later life. In addition misunderstanding and a lawsuit against his daughters over the family estate do not dim the portrait which Mr. Ramsey draws. Richard Cromwell has been vindicated. (Sr. REGINA BASKA, O. S. B.)

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES, *Les Juges de la Province de Québec.* (Québec, Rédempti Paradis, Imprimeur de Sa Majesté le Roi, 1933, pp. xxvii, 588.) This is another of the *de luxe* publications which Dr. Roy, Provincial Archivist of Quebec, has been issuing through the Archives or the Historical Monuments Commission of that province. The present volume contains brief biographies (one page to each) of all the judges who have sat in the civil courts of the province of Quebec—under its several names—from the cession of the colony to Great Britain until 1933. With only a few exceptions, a full-page half-tone portrait accompanies each biography. A sketch of the organization of the judicature of the province during the period covered is given at the beginning of the volume. It is an attractive work which will be useful to the general reader. The special student will regret the absence of all *apparatus criticus*, and in particular of all information as to the sources of the portraits. Canadian historical iconography is an important but neglected field, and an opportunity to render a great service therein has here been disregarded. (JAMES F. KENNEY.)

SALTER, Sir ARTHUR, *The Causes of War.* (New York, Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. xxix, 235, $1.50.) The Executive Committee of the World Conference for International Peace through Religion decided to organise the conference along the lines of four international commissions. This book gives us a summarised as well as a detailed report by several members of Commission No. 1, on the causes and the tendencies that make for war. It discusses all appreciable influences, economic, racial, religious, scientific, cultural, literary (press and propaganda), and political. These reports are supplemented by articles of experts on such questions as National Monopolies, Tariffs, and Migration. A most glaring oversight in the light of subsequent events is the omission of all reference to Ethiopia as a possible danger zone. Otherwise, we are given a complete picture of the great world problem by men who know whereof they speak and who ardently desire to help avoid international dissension. (J. F. FINNEGAN.)

SCHEIDT, HUBERT, *Die Taufwasserweihgebete.* [*Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen*, Heft. 29.] (Münster in Westfalen, Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1935, pp. viii, 104, RM 5.20.) The Benedictines of Maria-Laach, prominent in the liturgical movement, present here a monograph that is a contribution to our knowledge and one of the ancient rites connected with our observance of Holy Saturday. Dr. Scheidt gives the texts of several versions of the baptismal water blessings belonging to the three groups—the Graeco-Syrian, Egyptian, and western. After a critical study of the texts he proceeds to note common elements in them and the reasons for their im-

portance. Particularly revealing is Dr. Scheidt's chapter on the relations between the baptismal and eucharistic rituals. (F. J. T.)

SHUSTER, GEORGE N., *Like A Mighty Army: Hitler versus Established Religion.* (New York, D. Appleton-Century, 1935, pp. vii, 286.) Third in a series of essays challenging the "New Germany," this volume from the prolific pen of the *Commonweal's* Managing Editor is devoted to a searching analysis and a wholesome exposition of the religion which is Hitlerism. It is a timely book with a definite mission. The author sees in National Socialism an apparent common denominator of five attitudes of religious belief evident in post-war Germany: the Catholic Church, Lutheranism, and Jewry, counting the largest adherence; Neo-Pantheism, represented by Marxist and Wagnerian followings; and a kind of negative religion, a pseudo-mystical faith, worshiping an entrancing void where God had previously been. The German Faith Movement, the effort to nationalize Germany religiously, has received no direct support from Hitler. It is consonant with the principles of Rosenberg, the Nazi intellectual exponent. Hitlerism declares the individual the property of the state and brooks no barrier to its will. It is fanatically resolved to stamp out whatever does not help it. Marxist liberalism was smashed, for how could Germany be hard while the softness of the Socialist was round its neck? Now, it is not the hospital that matters, it is the camp. "Marxism . . . was a great heresy, but at least it was that." "War on the Jew," "The Protestant Struggle," and "Hitler's Encounters with Rome" constitute the burden of the book. In his conclusions, Mr. Shuster waxes eloquent, tracing the elements of National Socialism to the philosophy and the materialism of a previous century. He pleads for an international tribunal of humanity to ensure freedom of religious conscience. The book is not intended to be a scholarly monograph. It is but the simple cry of a Christian philosopher. We are wondering whether the author's choice of the title is justified by: "But though Hitler and Goering and Rosenberg will sometime vanish as did the Vandals and the Jacobins, one's heart bleeds for the martyrs." (Sister MARY CARMELITE.)

STUDEBAKER, JOHN W., *Plain Talk.* (Washington, National Home Library Foundation, 1936, pp. ix, 166, $ .25.) Dr. Studebaker proposes to save democracy through adult education. "Too much blood," he writes, "has been shed in the upward struggle for the franchise to regard lightly the right to vote, or to exercise that right without a deep sense of responsibility." To meet this responsibility, political education is necessary. The author, since the greatest enemy of democracy is civic ignorance, advances the thesis that the best means for such education is the public forum, having three essential characteristics: an assemblage of citizens, a capable leader, a real issue or problem for discussion. The chief objective is the development of critical intelligence. For success, absolute freedom of speech is necessary. the plan aims "to teach people not what to think, but how to think through public issues." Dr. Studebaker advocates the execution of the plan by the Department of Education with federal money. The forums are to act as catalyzers, ferments in the field of ideas. Though the book is repetitious, it

represents convincing arguments from theory and from the experience of the Des Moines experiment in support of the thesis. The influence of Rousseau upon the author is very evident. To each chapter is appended a list of topics and questions for discussion, also a representative list of suggested references for reading. (W. J. SCHIFFERLI.)

TEMPERLEY, HAROLD, F. B. A., *England and the Near East: The Crimea.* (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1936, pp. xxx, 548.) The volume being briefly reviewed is the first of three volumes which will deal with the general topic of England and the Near East. Professor Temperley has planned to cover the period from the death of Canning in 1827 to the Congress of Berlin of 1878. The first volume to appear has carried the story to the actual outbreak of the Crimean War in the early part of 1854. English scholarship at its best is apparent in every chapter of the work. Its fourteen chapters tell the story of England's relations with the Near East as they have not been told before. Explanatory footnotes are not given in the text proper, but at the end of the chapters approximately eighty pages of notes deal with many controversial subjects in an exhaustive manner. Appendices, maps, and a carefully prepared index make the book decidedly complete. There can be no doubt that Professor Temperley understands the areas and peoples discussed by him. First-hand experience in the Near East has made the work realistic. Sufficient biographical material of leaders in various movements has been introduced, but the study is one of peoples and issues, rather than of individuals. Whether dealing with Bosnians, Latins, Greeks, Turks, Russians, or English, Professor Temperley understands his subject and presents unbiased information and decisions of a reasonable nature. Many readers will decide that it is the best work on the subject that has appeared, or that is likely to appear. It deserves a wide circulation among scholars and also among general readers. (PAUL KINIERY.)

THOMPSON, JAMES WESTFALL, *The Dissolution of the Carolingian Fisc in the Ninth Century.* [University of California Publications in History, XXIII.] (Berkeley, California, University of California Press, 1935, pp. xii, 186.) For much of the medieval period land was the chief source of income and so the principal measure of the influence and power of royalty, nobles, prelates, and lesser folk. This study is confined to the crown lands, collectively the fisc, of the Carolingians from 752, when they succeeded the Merovingians on the throne, to about 900, when the Carolingian fortunes were in rapid decline. Treatment of the subject necessarily resolved itself into lists of manners and parcels of landed property more or less nondescript, accompanied by some interpretative text, but chiefly by tables and maps. No one has searched the field so thoroughly over so much of the Carolingian period, discovering 1409 places at some time or other in the possession of the crown, identifying all but 75 and locating all but 35. Although not taking into account scattered possessions—they appear hopelessly beyond our discovery now—these lists and summaries give one a clearer idea of what the Carolingian domain was like, the problems of its management, the method and madness in its alienations, and much more—the road system, the persistance of village life, the roots of

the feudal proprietary families of later times, place-names and their transmission, etc, etc. Eloquently as the all too brief text and the more than a hundred pages of listings—a mine for the historical geography of the period—tell the reason for the greatness and the decline of the Carolingian house, they cannot speak so effectively as the six maps (with numerous inserts) which integrate all the matter into one panoramic whole. This monograph is indispensable to the student of the period. Much more than Professor Thompson, adhering closely to his theme, has deduced may safely be inferred from its content. There is added an exhaustive bibliography. (F. J. TSCHAN.)

TRAPPES-LOMAX, MICHAEL, *Bishop Challoner (1691-1781): England Catholicism Before the Second Spring.* (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1936, pp. 277.) It is to be regretted that the author has contented himself with a biography that leans almost entirely upon Canon Burton's *The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner.* Not that the latter work is not a splendid starting point for a second Challoner biography, but Mr. Trappes-Lomax shows little of that independence, both of research and analysis, which characterized his life of Pugin. This is all the more regrettable when new source materials have been brought to light since the publication of the Burton volumes in 1909. Nevertheless, this present work gives a graphic picture of the disheartening conditions under which the English Catholics had to live. It also retells the unfortunate divisions among the Catholics themselves—divisions so serious that only the workings of the Holy Ghost through men like Bishop Challoner kept the Faith alive in pre-emancipation days. (JOSEPH B. CODE.)

VALLÉE POUSSIN, LOUIS de la, *Dynasties et Histoire de l'Inde depuis Kanshka jusqu'aux invasions Musulmanes.* (Paris, E. D. Boccard, 1935, pp. 396.) This volume forms a part of vol. 6 of the *Histoire du Monde* and covers the history of India and China during the Buddhistic era. Professor Poussin has given us a valuable, well-documented, and authoritative study of a very important period of Hindu India from the fourth century B. C. to the eleventh century A. D. The work is technical and for specialists; and its conclusions are entirely trustworthy. The book serves as foundation for the study of Indian heritage and therefore is of great value. (TARAKNATH DAS.)

WILLOUGHBY, WOODBURY, Ph. D., *The Capital Issues Committee and War Finance Corporation.* [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, pp. 130.) The author who served as associate of the Financial Adviser of the Polish Government during 1927-1929, examines the two most important instrumentalities through which the American government controlled the investment of capital in private enterprises during the world war. By means of the Capital Issues Committee, which ceased to function after the armistice, capital issues were regulated so as to minimize the absorption of capital, labor, and materials by industries non-essential to military needs. The War Finance Corporation, active until the end of 1924 and closely resembling the Reconstruction Finance Corporation of recent days, provided for the supplying of government funds to enterprises needed in the prosecution of the war.

Dr. Willoughby essays to judge if, how and why either body succeeded in fully realising its purpose. Secondary sources for the study are few and not wholly reliable, especially for the first committee. The author relies mainly upon published reports and authorized statements made by members of both groups and the articles of certain financial journals and government publications. (J. F. FINNEGAN.)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

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The Marxian Philosophy of History. Ross J. S. Hoffman (*American Review*, October).

The Use of Historical Sources. G. G. Andrews (*Social Studies*, November).

Textual Criticism as Historical Discipline. D. W. Riddle (*Anglican Theological Review*, October).

Catholicisme et Politique: Réflexions d'un historien au sortir du IVe siècle. J. R. Palanque (*Correspondant*, October).

Bouddhisme et Christianismo. Andrée Petibon (*Nouvelle Revue*, November).

Zur Theodizee der Geschichte. Max Rast, S. J. (*Stimmen der Zeit*, October).

The Historian and the Lawyer: Their Aims and Their Methods. Viscount Sankey (*History*, September).

The Visual Reconstruction of History. C. W. Jefferys (*Canadian Historical Review*, September).

The Philistines. Elihu Grant (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, September).

Archeology and Jewish History. E. R. Goodenough (*Journal of Biblical Literature*, September).

The Church, the Latin Empire and the Barbarians. F. J. Badcock (*Church Quarterly Review*, October-December).

Heroes of Christianity, XIV. E. L. Pennington (*American Church Monthly*, October). St. Jerome.

The Popes and the Jews. Cecil Roth (*Church Quarterly Review*, October-December).

The Cultus of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus. W. Telfer (*Harvard Theological Review*, October).

Placing the Middle Ages. H. O. Taylor (*Speculum*, October).

L'Idée de Croisade: ses origines d'après les travaux récents. Joseph Lecler (*Études*, October).

The Earliest Medieval Churches of Kiev. S. H. Cross (*Speculum*, October).

Sünde als Gnadenverlust in der frühkirchlichen Literatur. Karl Rahner, S. J. (*Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, band 60, heft 4).

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Probleme der Hippolytüberlieferung zum Zeugnis Hippolyts von Rom für den Ausdruck θεοτόκος. Hugo Rahner, S. J. (*Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie*, band 60, heft 4).

The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536-1936. Philip Hughes (*Clergy Review*, October).

What Was the Reformation? Hilaire Belloc (*Sign*, October).

The Political Issues of the Reformation. H. B. Workman (*London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, October).

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The Reformation, the Mass and the Priesthood. G. Constant (*Downside Review*, October).
Abuses of the Inquisition. J. J. Bain (*Truth*, October).
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Mexico and the United States: the Historical Background to the Present Religious Trouble in Mexico. R. S. Devane, S. J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, September).
The First College in America: Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco (continued). F. B. Steck (*Catholic Educational Review*, October).
Achievement and Influence of Santa Cruz de Tlatelolco. F. B. Steck, O. F. M. (*Catholic Educational Review*, December).
The Problem of Maya Religion. R. J. Sullivan, S. J. (*Thought*, December).

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The 13th Centenary of St. Isidore of Seville. Hyacinth Roth, O. P. (*Dominicana*, September).
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Forced Baptisms in Italy: a Contribution to the History of Jewish Persecution. Cecil Roth (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, October).
Guelfi e Ghibellini di Romagna nel 1280-81. Gina Fasoli (*Archivio Storico Italiano*, no. 358, 1936, disp. II).
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Disciples et admirateurs florentins de Lamennais. Paul Dudon (*Revue des questions historiques*, September).
Il Cardinale Maurizio di Savoia e l'Arcivescovato di Monreale. Mario Zucchi (*Archivio Storico Italiano*, no. 358, 1936, disp. II).
Gerbert, "Obscuro Loco Natus." O. G. Darlington (*Speculum*, October). Pope Silvester II.
A Forgotten Mystic: the Venerable Mary Celeste Crostarosa. J. A. Cleary, C. SS. R. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, November).

BRITISH EMPIRE

Catholicism in England. Thomas Gilby, O. P. (*Blackfriars*, September).

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Spanish Protestant Refugees in England [1520-1602]. Lieselotte Linnhoff (*Churchman*, October).

Margaret the Astonishing: a Fifteenth-Century English Mystic. Herbert Thurston (*Month*, November).

Cromwell: vor religiöser, menschlicher und geschichtlicher Grösse. Peter Lippert, S. J. (*Stimmen der Zeit*, October).

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Tomás More en las Epístolas de Erasmo (concluded). R. G. Villoslada (*Razón y Fe*, July-August).

Saint Thomas More and the Refugees in Flanders. N. M. Wilby (*Dublin Review*, October).

London University and Catholic Education. Henry Tristam, Cong. Orat. (*Dublin Review*, October).

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A Dream of Bermuda, 1724-1732. Mary C. Moorman (*East and West Review*, October). Dean Berkeley's College of St. Paul.

UNITED STATES

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The Apostolic Delegation at Washington. W. J. Lallou (*Ecclesiastical Review*, December). Historical treatment.

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CONTRIBUTORS OF ARTICLES AND MISCELLANY

DANIEL SARGENT, M. A., president of the AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION during the past year, is an instructor in the department of history and literature at Harvard University, and the author of *Thomas More, Catherine Tekakwitha* and other historical works.

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